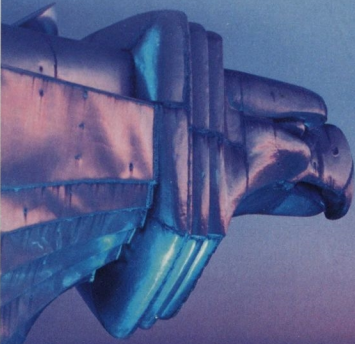


# TIME

A large, metallic, stylized hand holding a pen, set against a backdrop of a city skyline at dusk. The hand is positioned on the left side of the cover, with the pen pointing towards the right. The city skyline is visible in the background, with the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center prominently featured on the right side. The sky is a mix of blue and purple, suggesting twilight.

## What We Lost

How our response to 9/11  
reshaped the century.  
Historian Niall Ferguson  
looks back from the future

**Plus: The Conspiracy Myths of 9/11**

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# AQUOS

THERE'S MORE TO SEE

# LIFE TAKES AMBIANCE



A group of people are dining at tables set up in shallow, clear turquoise water. The tables are white, and the chairs are white plastic. The water is very shallow, and the bottom is visible. The sky is a clear, deep blue. In the background, another group of people is also dining at a table in the water. The overall scene is a tropical beach setting.

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TAKES  
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# TIME

September 11, 2006  
Vol. 168, No. 11

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COVER: *Sunset from the Chrysler Building.*  
Photograph by Louie Psihoyos—Getty Images

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## COVER

Looking back from the future: Historian Niall Ferguson re-examines 9/11 from the perspective of the year 2031 and concludes that the war against terrorism ended in a way no one would have anticipated. Plus, why five years after the attacks, conspiracy theories still abound about what really happened that day

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► The presidential election standoff in Mexico has some citizens up in arms



OSCARA JORDAN—GETTY IMAGES

JEFF HUTCHINS—GETTY FOR TIME

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▲ Townsend has Bush's ear on how to thwart terrorism

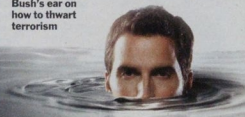


74 It's prep time for Rachael Ray's new talk show

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY C.J. BURTON

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Toxic mercury is popping up in unexpected places





# TIME.com

Each day, TIME's website presents breaking news, analysis of hot issues, photo galleries, multimedia features, sound bites, opinion and more. These were last week's most popular Web-exclusive stories >>



TWIN TOWERS: JONATHAN SWAN; FERGUSON: JEFF MORGAN—CARTEA PRESS

## The Long Shadow of 9/11

As the fifth anniversary of 9/11 approaches, [time.com](http://time.com) visitors can take a poll on what has changed and submit essays on the topic. Next weekend check out a photo essay of 9/11 folk art (like the miniature replica of the Twin Towers, above), watch a video featuring the author of this week's cover story, Niall Ferguson, inset, and read the recollections of a 9/11 widow and a rescue worker.



### BEHIND IRAN'S VEIL

This week Azadeh Moaveni, TIME's Tehran correspondent, begins her regular column, Lipstick Jihad, examining what daily life is really like in Iran at [time.com/moaveni](http://time.com/moaveni). Visitors can also check out a photo essay offering a revealing look at the country, such as this shot depicting a fashion show in Tehran.



### TALK BACK

Ask Rachael Ray In this week's issue, Joel Stein profiles the perky chef who takes her hosting skills to a daytime talk show in two weeks. If you have a question for Ray, visit [time.com/rachael](http://time.com/rachael), and we'll post a selection of her answers next week.



NATHAN CLAYTON FOR TIME

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### PICTURE OF THE WEEK

Last week [time.com](http://time.com) visitors chose this shot of a wedding celebration in Beirut as their favorite photo from a collection of images chosen by TIME's photo editors.



### MOST VIEWED ON TIME.COM



1. Why the U.S. Is Holding Its Fire on Iran
2. 50 Coolest Websites
3. Who Will Be the Next Polygamist Prophet?
4. The Pope and Darwin
5. Is the Runway Part of the Problem?



### GET THE SKINNY

We tested out the Power Plate—a new vibrating exercise platform that promises an easy way to lose those extra pounds—and found out that it works, but only up to a point. Read about how you can shake yourself thin at [time.com](http://time.com).

# THE 2003 IT. IT HAULS. IN EVERY SENSE OF THE WORD.



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# One Thing We Need to Do



FOR MOST OF OUR HISTORY, AMERICANS DIDN'T CARE much about foreign policy. We were protected by two oceans, and the idea of American exceptionalism suggested that we were exempt from the ancient enmities of the Old World. Even in the years leading up to World Wars I and II, voters were far more interested in staying out of foreign wars than in understanding what those fights were all about. For the past 30 years, Americans have clearly preferred Governors in the White House—four of the past five Presidents had been state chief executives—and Governors tend to be thin on foreign policy experience. Presidential candidates

have needed detailed policies on taxes and welfare and social security. So what if they didn't know the name of the Prime Minister of Malaysia?

All that changed on 9/11, which served as a wake-up call in a thousand different ways. But there is one thing we have not done that is crucial to our future: we still have not engaged in a true national dialogue about what our foreign policy should be and what constitutes our national interests and values. That is an issue of national security no less vital than protecting our ports or airlines. Throughout our history there has always been a kind of unspoken presumption that foreign policy was outside the purview of the people, that it needed to be in the hands of specialists and policy mandarins and that ordinary Americans were just not equipped to make decisions about such highfalutin matters. That is a mistake we can no longer afford. American citizens pay taxes to support our policies overseas and send their sons and daughters to fight for the nation, which means they should be damn well able to pass judgment on what our foreign policy ought to be. Participatory democracy doesn't stop at the water's edge. As we move toward the 2008 presidential election, it's critical that candidates sketch out their worldview, their ideas about the Middle East and China, with all the detail and practicality that we expect of their health-care plans.

A few weeks ago, I was fortunate enough to have attended a small lunch for General Brent Scowcroft, National Security Adviser to President George H.W. Bush. General Scowcroft described the two broad historic themes of American foreign policy—call them traditionalism vs. transformationalism, or the realists

vs. the idealists. The twin poles are represented by John Quincy Adams, who famously said the U.S. "goes not abroad, in search of monsters to destroy," and Woodrow Wilson, who believed that America was a shining city on a hill and that it was our national destiny to be evangelists for democracy. While that is an oversimplified schema, it does suggest an initial outline for a national dialogue. What ideals are we willing to fight for? What are the practical dividends we seek from our multilateral relationships? How do we balance idealism vs. realism? No one who participates in this conversation should be branded as disloyal or a traitor. This is not a debate about left vs. right, blue vs. red—it is a discussion that should transcend political divides because it is about shared values. We can disagree about tactics, but we need to find some consensus about our basic values and interests.

At the end of World War II, we faced a new world order that challenged some of the basic tenets of what we stand for as a nation. In response, we developed a bipartisan foreign policy to deal with those new challenges and dangers. We helped create nonpartisan global institutions like NATO, the World Bank, the U.N. and the Marshall Plan. The strategy of containment was accepted by both parties. I believe that our circumstances today offer a similar opportunity and we must consider policies and actions on a comparable scale, with that same spirit of bipartisanship. This is an opportunity we cannot afford to let slip. We must be as creative today as our predecessors were a half-century ago. Realism and idealism are two strains not only in our foreign policy but also in our character as a people. We function best when those two values work hand in hand.

9/11 reshaped the New York skyline—and the need for dialogue

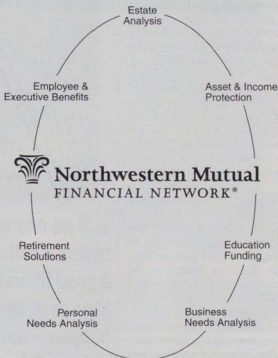


*Pick*

Richard Stengel, Managing Editor

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# Students Who Skip the Ivy League

Our story debating the value of an Ivy League education got plenty of mail—not just about East Coast, elite colleges but also about state universities, small private schools, financial aid and consultants for hire. And most readers commented on the pressure of the application process

AS A RISING SENIOR WHO IS WORRIED SICK about college applications, I want to thank Nancy Gibbs and Nathan Thornburgh for downplaying the idea that we all need to get into the Ivies [Aug. 21]. As the eldest in my family—and Asian as well—I have always had the feeling that I need to get into a name-brand college. Although I have tried everything to make my parents believe that small liberal-arts colleges can be as good, they still won't budge. It was even harder to get my mom to read your story. The article helped relieve some of the pressure my college counselor and my parents have put on me.

JESSICA WONG  
Monterey, Calif.

YOU ACCURATELY DESCRIBED WHAT prospective college students should look for when applying to a school. I am a college student who does not attend an Ivy League institution, and I am surrounded by people who devoted their high school years to trying to get into Harvard, Yale and Stanford. Does an Ivy League degree necessarily equate with success? Education is priceless no matter which college you are able to attend.

ALEFYIAH YUSUF SHIKARI  
Darien, Ill.

YOUR COVERAGE REPRESENTS PRECISELY the attitude that threatens to undermine America's competitive edge. The notion that the Ivy League doesn't matter for success is false. After all, TIME used Harvard's name on the cover to market the magazine.

PRATIK CHOUGULE  
BROWN '08  
East Greenwich, R.I.

YOUR REPORT WAS WELL INTENDED, BUT by making the Ivy League schools your focus, you perpetuated the idea of these



**“If we encourage kids to find a college that’s a good fit and not just a big name, we will have happier—and more successful—students.”**

LEAH BEASLEY  
Bloomfield Hills, Mich.

schools as the nation's elite, most desirable campuses. Harvard, Yale and M.I.T. have their counterparts on the left coast in the University of California, Berkeley; Stanford; and Caltech. These campuses are certainly not inferior to the Ivy League campuses, and one of them is a public institution.

D. BLAIR GIBSON  
UCLA, B.A. '78, PH.D. '90  
EL CAMINO COLLEGE  
Torrance, Calif.

AS AN INCOMING FRESHMAN AT COLUMBIA University, I felt that your portrayal of the Ivy League and its students was more than a bit unfair. Yes, students should look beyond the names of colleges, and parents shouldn't push their children to consider only name-brand schools. But students who decide after careful consideration that an Ivy League institution is the one for them shouldn't be seen simply as superficial elitists. Each of the eight Ivy League schools has a unique academic and social culture, as does every college. By practically applauding students who turned down the Ivies and omitting the perspective of any Ivy League student, Thornburgh and Gibbs (a Yale graduate, no less) present a limited viewpoint.

SHANA KNIZHNIK  
Philadelphia

AS A COLLEGE COUNSELOR AT AN independent high school, I believe students and parents need to understand the concept of finding the right fit—whether it's Harvard or not—when selecting a college. If we encourage kids to find a college that's a good fit and not just a big name, we will have happier—and more successful—students.

LEAH BEASLEY  
CRANBROOK KINGSWOOD UPPER SCHOOL  
Bloomfield Hills, Mich.

I WOULD GO A STEP FURTHER AND ASK, Who needs small private schools? While Gibbs and Thornburgh maintain that “small is beautiful,” they fail to acknowledge the prominence of America's public universities. The “If you are talented, the sky is the limit” mentality is most appropriate in a public university where students face a more real-world atmosphere of independence and hard work, without a dotting dean serving as a third parent. And success has been proved: the major-





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- Michael Murphy  
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- The Boston Globe

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## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

### MEXICAN CO-AUTHOR

■ The People item on the new novel by Zapatista spokesman Subcomandante Marcos [Aug. 21] erroneously referred to his co-author, crime writer Paco Ignacio Taibo II, as Spanish. Taibo is Mexican.

ity of the FORTUNE 50 CEOs hail not from the Ivies or small private colleges but from our public universities.

KEVIN JAMES BERKEMEYER  
Charleston, R.I.

YOU REPORTED THAT "AT HARVARD, FAMILIES that earn less than \$40,000 a year don't have to contribute a penny to their kids' education." This spring Harvard raised the cutoff to \$60,000 a year.

ADAM GUREN  
Los Angeles

YOU MADE NO MENTION OF THE MANY excellent two-year community colleges throughout the U.S. For students who have not yet made a career choice, those schools provide exposure to different subjects as well as preparation for jobs that are not easily "off-shored," such as auto repair, cosmetology and building inspection. They're one of higher education's best-kept secrets—and a bargain compared with four-year colleges.

GEORGIA R. GRANT  
COLLEGE OF SAN MATEO  
San Mateo, Calif.

ONE OF THE HAPPIEST DAYS OF MY LIFE was the day my son was accepted to Harvard. For the granddaughter of immigrants, this was like winning the lottery. And my son wasn't the only one to benefit. I sat in on classes and was invited to a dinner at which I found myself seated with the President of Costa Rica and a former Senator from Colorado. When my son went to Harvard, I went too. Anyone who is accepted by any first-tier university should think very, very carefully before turning it down.

LINDA MELE JOHNSON  
Long Beach, Calif.

YOU LIMITED YOUR DISCUSSION TO THE plight of the small percentage of students who have a shot at top-tier schools. As an

educational consultant, I was disappointed by your lack of understanding of our role. Our mission is neither to "get kids in" nor to "package" them to enhance their chances. We endeavor to help them and their parents more fully understand a process in which they will be investing so much emotionally as well as financially.

SUZANNE F. SCOTT, Ed.M.  
ACADEMIC ADVISORY SERVICE  
Elkins Park, Pa.

WHO NEEDS HARVARD, YOU ASK? YALE does, of course—so that it has a rival team it can beat every now and then.

(THE REV.) MARC HALL  
YALE '37  
Stowe, Vt.

## Pride in Princeton

I WAS PUZZLED BY WALTER KIRN'S DEPICTION of Princeton. While I cannot comment on the Princeton of the 1980s, when Kirn was there, I do know that the Princeton of today offers intellectual stimulation that far surpasses the philosopher-name-dropping that Kirn suggests is the end point of a Princeton education. The "X factor" is not egotism but motivation. The established alumni networks may help down the line, but the attention that Princeton's professors give to their undergraduates is the school's most appealing trait. And I hope that Kirn reported the cheating he saw to the Honor Committee, part of Princeton's honor system since 1893.

BRYAN COCKRELL  
PRINCETON '08  
Damascus, Md.

## Paging Bipartisan Patriots

IN HIS COLUMN ON JOE LIEBERMAN'S DEFEAT in the Connecticut primary [Aug. 21], Joe Klein implies that all Democrats want to return to MoveOn.org's "extremist" vision of the Democratic Party. The vote against Lieberman was neither extreme nor an assault on bipartisanship. It was a vote against Bush's extreme policies, which Lieberman supported. Voting against extreme policies does not make one an extremist, no matter how the G.O.P. spins it.

KEVIN FINK  
Fort Mill, S.C.

KLEIN SEEMS TO ARGUE THAT PSEUDO-Democrats like Joe Lieberman are what the party needs. Legislation should re-

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sult from compromise, not lack of an opposing opinion. To say that espousing true Democratic ideals is akin to "extremism" shows how much the Democrats' positions have weakened owing to just the type of wishy-washy Third Way politics Klein advocates.

ALISON SCHROTH  
Hummelstown, Pa.

BRAVO TO KLEIN FOR NOTING THAT "THE real alternative to Bush's Republican extremism isn't Democratic extremism. It is bipartisan moderation." Now all you need to do is suggest a few potential Democratic contenders who embody that ideal. Kerry? Gore? Hillary? Howard Dean?! Having gored Joe Lieberman, the Democrats have demonstrated they don't tolerate "bipartisan patriotism" and will destroy any card carrier who evinces such an admirable trait.

VINCE ZICCARDI  
San Antonio, Texas

## How Much Risk Can We Take?

YOUR ARTICLE ABOUT THE RISK OF TERRORISM [Aug. 21] brought back a bad memory from 13 years ago. Fifteen minutes into a flight I was on, a man walked from his seat into the galley, armed with a plastic jar and a matchbox. My worst fears were confirmed a few minutes later upon seeing the ashen-faced flight attendant. We'd been hijacked. It seems that not much has changed since then. It is better to strengthen security systems and give up some freedoms than it is to accept a high risk of more attacks.

SAVI MULL  
Lucknow, India

ON A RECENT TRIP OVERSEAS, MY FIANCEE and I were much aware of the increase in security. But we did find something puzzling and alarming. On both flights to and from Europe we were surprised that we were provided with metal eating utensils, including a serrated knife. If a couple of box cutters brought down the World Trade Center nearly five years ago, doesn't someone out there have any sense by now not to provide metal eating utensils to passengers?

PAUL S. WAX  
Teaneck, N.J.

## Why Such Discontent?

IN THE ARTICLE ABOUT ISLAMIC DISCONTENT being fomented in Britain [Aug. 21], Beena Faridi of the Islamic Human Rights Commission characterizes Israel's actions of self-defense as collective punishment of the Lebanese. Cross-border raids involving murder, kidnapping and indiscriminate rocket fire are clear violations of human rights and international law. Don't human rights apply to all? Perhaps it is too much to ask the commission to consider the responsibility of all nations not to harbor terrorists.

PETER ROSENTHAL  
Charleston, S.C.

IN SPITE OF ALL THE EFFORTS BY WESTERN governments and Western news media to keep Pakistan from being branded "terror center" of the world, the facts just keep saying otherwise. It is understandable that the U.S. would want Pakistan to deal with the monster it has created. But sooner or later, Western governments will have to get involved in that nation's

HAS YOUR  
SLEEP AID  
STOPPED  
WORKING AS WELL  
AS IT USED TO?

## FROM COSMIC RAYS TO SPACE RACE



Physicist James Van Allen, who discovered the radiation belts that encircle Earth, died on Aug. 9 at age 91. Our May 4, 1959, cover story revealed a dedicated scientist whose work assumed a political dimension, compliments of the cold war:

"In the race into space, the Russians can claim bigger satellites and more powerful rockets. If the U.S. can retort that it has a big lead in scientific achievement, the man most responsible is James Van Allen, whose instruments, designed and largely constructed in his basement laboratory, brought back from space discoveries the Russians never made. **BUT VAN**

**ALLEN NEVER EXPECTED TO FIND HIMSELF, AT 44, A KEY FIGURE IN THE COLD WAR'S COMPETITION FOR PRESTIGE. HE IS AND ALWAYS HAS BEEN, BY INCLINATION AND INTENT, A 'PURE' SCIENTIST ...** He started being curious about cosmic rays back in the prewar days when they were considered as wildly abstruse and impractical as a study of the mating habits of sea horses or the inner structure of a grasshopper's brain. But today he can tip back his head and look at the sky. Beyond its outermost blue are the world-encompassing belts of fierce radiation that bear his name. No human name has ever been given to a more majestic feature of the planet Earth." Read more at [timearchive.com](http://timearchive.com).



## CUBA BEFORE CASTRO



What will the passing of Fidel Castro's nearly half-century-long presidency mean for the future of the Cuban revolution? There can be little nostalgia for the

culture of criminality that turned Cubans against the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, described in our Jan. 26, 1959, cover story:

"Political morality under Batista, while conforming to a half-century of practice, hardly lived up to the idealistic constitution... Corruption ranged all the way from army sergeants who stole chickens to Batista himself, who shared with his cronies a 30% kickback on public-works contracts... Havana storekeepers who wanted to attract crowds by having a bus-stop sign out front could get one any time—for a flat payment of \$4,000 to traffic officials. **IN BATISTA'S LAST YEARS HAVANA BECAME THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE'S CAPITAL OF LUST AND LICENSE**, with touches of depravity and opulence unmatched anywhere. Brothels, such as the Mambo Club, with chic girls, matronly overseers and a consulting physician, catered to U.S. tourists... There were 10,000 harlots and as many panderers. Payoffs from prostitution and gambling ran into the millions and were efficiently organized... Graft and terror inflamed Cuba's people against Batista and helped add Cuba to Latin America's four-year chain of democratic upheavals." Read more at [timearchive.com](http://timearchive.com).

internal affairs. Only direct intervention by the West is going to eradicate the threat coming out of Pakistan.

SURESH SETH  
Houston

MUSLIMS IN EUROPE COMPLAIN THAT they are suspect because they are Muslim. What do they expect? The people engaging in terrorism are advocates of radical Islam.

BRONDI BEN-YOSEF  
Ness Ziona, Israel

## Muslims in North America

IT'S NICE TO KNOW, ACCORDING TO PETER Skerry's Viewpoint [Aug. 21], that Muslims living in the U.S. are mostly suburban "university-educated professionals,"

who thus lack an incentive to attack us at the moment. Ironically, having achieved success by virtue of the freedom offered by a country built primarily by European Christians, they maintain a deafening silence in the face of atrocities enacted each day by their co-religionists. As the widow of a good and decent man murdered in the Twin Towers, I find their apathy unconscionable.

LESLIE DIMMLING  
Garden City, N.Y.

## No Exodus

"THE BRAWL IN CALIFORNIA" [AUG. 7] GAVE the impression that litigation against the California Institute of Regenerative Medicine has created an exodus of stem-cell researchers from California. In fact few if any have left, and dozens have moved to the state because of supportive state laws and stable funding opportunities. In addition, our institute recently established a training program at 16 state institutions that will train 169 young researchers, including predoctoral, postdoctoral and clinical fellows, many of whom have come from out of state or from overseas.

ZACH W. HALL, PRESIDENT  
CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE FOR  
REGENERATIVE MEDICINE  
San Francisco

## Segway Seeks to Conquer

THE SEGWAY IS A TECHNOLOGICAL MARVEL [Aug. 21]. But here in Middle America it is seen as an expensive toy for the rich who live on the coasts. Perhaps if the company offered some discounted units to police departments or civic organizations, we could see one in action—and that just might help make a few sales.

MIKE COLEMAN  
Union, Mo.

MY DAUGHTER-IN-LAW HAS MULTIPLE sclerosis and uses a Segway in the house. She had her car adapted for ease in getting the Segway into the back of her station wagon. She told me that it has made her life much more fulfilling. Now she can take the dog for a walk, go shopping, meet with her friends—in general, she's much more mobile. This is a miracle machine.

JOE BLATNER  
Vancouver, Wash.

DEAN KAMEN COULD MAKE HIS SEGWAY the transporter of this century simply by sprinkling a few on college campuses

across the country. Our young people would acquire another addiction, along with their iPods and notebook computers. Once indoctrinated, they would spread the seeds after graduation.

DAVID P. BOGARDUS  
Portland, Ore.

A GOOD SET OF FEET CAN TAKE YOU ANYWHERE, doesn't require a parking place, can go up and down stairs, usually comes as standard equipment on a human body, isn't likely to be stolen and is allowed on a variety of surfaces in all 50 states.

KENT JUDKINS  
Shreveport, La.

## Below the Belt?

RE "FUNNY, HE NEVER SEEMED SOBER," your Aug. 21 People item about Robin Williams falling off the wagon: It's very poor sportsmanship to kick a man when he's down. Williams was mensch enough to go public with his drinking problem instead of hiding it as 99% of celebrities do until it graces the front page of the tabloids. I see his admission as a strength, not a weakness.

SANDE ANFANG  
Half Moon Bay, Calif.

## HOW TO REACH US

### TIME

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# THE LUNESTA™ 7-NIGHT CHALLENGE



JUST ASK YOUR DOCTOR HOW TO GET 7 NIGHTS OF LUNESTA ABSOLUTELY FREE!  
SEE HOW PEACEFUL A FULL NIGHT'S SLEEP CAN BE.

BUT HURRY! THIS OFFER IS ONLY AVAILABLE FOR A LIMITED TIME!



FIND OUT HOW TO IMPROVE YOUR SLEEP HABITS AT [WWW.LUNESTA.COM](http://WWW.LUNESTA.COM). OR CALL 1-800-LUNESTA.

LUNESTA IS INDICATED FOR THE TREATMENT OF INSOMNIA.

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION: LUNESTA works quickly, and should be taken right before bed. Be sure you have at least eight hours to devote to sleep before becoming active. Until you know how you'll react to prescription LUNESTA, you should not drive or operate machinery. Do not use alcohol while taking LUNESTA. Most sleep medicines carry some risk of dependency. Side effects may include unpleasant taste, headache, drowsiness and dizziness. See important patient information on the next page.

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FOLLOW THESE TWO SIMPLE STEPS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS FREE TRIAL OFFER FOR LUNESTA:

STEP 1: COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING FORM

STEP 2: TEAR IT OUT AND BRING IT TO YOUR DOCTOR

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

EMAIL ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

☐ I WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION AND FUTURE OFFERS FOR LUNESTA.



# Lunesta

(eszopiclone)  
1, 2 AND 3 MG TABLETS

Please read this summary of information about LUNESTA before you talk to your doctor or start using LUNESTA. It is not meant to take the place of your doctor's instructions. If you have any questions about LUNESTA tablets, be sure to ask your doctor or pharmacist.

LUNESTA is used to treat different types of sleep problems, such as difficulty in falling asleep, difficulty in maintaining sleep during the night, and waking up too early in the morning. Most people with insomnia have more than one of these problems. You should take LUNESTA immediately before going to bed because of the risk of falling.

LUNESTA belongs to a group of medicines known as "hypnotics" or simply sleep medicines. There are many different sleep medicines available to help people sleep better. Insomnia is often transient and intermittent. It usually requires treatment for only a short time, usually 7 to 10 days up to 2 weeks. If your insomnia does not improve after 7 to 10 days of treatment, see your doctor, because it may be a sign of an underlying condition. Some people have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. However, you should not use these medicines for long periods without talking with your doctor about the risks and benefits of prolonged use.

## Side Effects

All medicines have side effects. The most common side effects of sleep medicines are:

- Drowsiness
- Dizziness
- Lightheadedness
- Difficulty with coordination

Sleep medicines can make you sleepy during the day. How drowsy you feel depends upon how your body reacts to the medicine, which sleep medicine you are taking, and how large a dose your doctor has prescribed. Daytime drowsiness is best avoided by taking the lowest dose possible that will still help you sleep at night. Your doctor will work with you to find the dose of LUNESTA that is best for you. Some people taking LUNESTA have reported next-day sleepiness.

To manage these side effects while you are taking this medicine:

- When you first start taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some effect on you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
- Do not drink alcohol when you are taking LUNESTA or any sleep medicine. Alcohol can increase the side effects of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine.
- Do not take any other medicines without asking your doctor first. This includes medicines you can buy without a prescription. Some medicines can cause drowsiness and are best avoided while taking LUNESTA.
- Always take the exact dose of LUNESTA prescribed by your doctor. Never change your dose without talking to your doctor first.

## Special Concerns

There are some special problems that may occur while taking sleep medicines.

### Memory Problems

Sleep medicines may cause a special type of memory loss or "amnesia." When this occurs, a person may not remember what has happened for several hours after taking the medicine. This is usually not a problem since most people fall asleep after taking the medicine. Memory loss can be a problem, however, when sleep medicines are taken while traveling, such as during an airplane flight and the person wakes up before the effect of the medicine is gone. This has been called "traveler's amnesia." Memory problems have been reported rarely by patients taking LUNESTA in clinical studies. In most cases, memory problems can be avoided if

you take LUNESTA only when you are able to get a full night of sleep before you need to be active again. Be sure to talk to your doctor if you think you are having memory problems.

### Tolerance

When sleep medicines are used every night for more than a few weeks, they may lose their effectiveness in helping you sleep. This is known as "tolerance." Development of tolerance to LUNESTA was not observed in a clinical study of 6 months' duration. Insomnia is often transient and intermittent, and prolonged use of sleep medicines is generally not necessary. Some people, though, have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. If your sleep problems continue, consult your doctor, who will determine whether other measures are needed to overcome your sleep problems.

### Dependence

Sleep medicines can cause dependence in some people, especially when these medicines are used regularly for longer than a few weeks or at high doses. Dependence is the need to continue taking a medicine because stopping it is unpleasant.

When people develop dependence, stopping the medicine suddenly may cause unpleasant symptoms (see Withdrawal below). They may find they have to keep taking the medicine either at the prescribed dose or at increasing doses just to avoid withdrawal symptoms.

All people taking sleep medicines have some risk of becoming dependent on the medicine. However, people who have been dependent on alcohol or other drugs in the past may have a higher chance of becoming addicted to sleep medicines. This possibility must be considered before using these medicines for more than a few weeks. If you have been addicted to alcohol or drugs in the past, it is important to tell your doctor before starting LUNESTA or any sleep medicine.

### Withdrawal

Withdrawal symptoms may occur when sleep medicines are stopped suddenly after being used daily for a long time. In some cases, these symptoms can occur even if the medicine has been used for only a week or two. In mild cases, withdrawal symptoms may include unpleasant feelings. In more severe cases, abdominal and muscle cramps, vomiting, sweating, shakiness, and, rarely, seizures may occur. These more severe withdrawal symptoms are very uncommon. Although withdrawal symptoms have not been observed in the relatively limited controlled trials experience with LUNESTA, there is, nevertheless, the risk of such events in association with the use of any sleep medicine.

Another problem that may occur when sleep medicines are stopped is known as "rebound insomnia." This means that a person may have more trouble sleeping the first few nights after the medicine is stopped than before starting the medicine. If you should experience rebound insomnia, do not get discouraged. This problem usually goes away on its own after 1 or 2 nights.

If you have been taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine for more than 1 or 2 weeks, do not stop taking it on your own. Always follow your doctor's directions.

### Changes in Behavior And Thinking

Some people using sleep medicines have experienced unusual changes in their thinking and/or behavior. These effects are not common. However, they have included:

- More outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal
- Confusion
- Strange behavior
- Agitation
- Hallucinations
- Worsening of depression
- Suicidal thoughts

How often these effects occur depends on several factors, such as a person's general health, the use of other medicines, and which sleep medicine is being used. Clinical experience with LUNESTA suggests that it is rarely associated with these behavior changes.

It is also important to realize it is rarely clear whether these behavior changes are caused by the medicine, are caused by an

illness, or have occurred on their own. In fact, sleep problems that do not improve may be due to illnesses that were present before the medicine was used. If you or your family notice any changes in your behavior, or if you have any unusual or disturbing thoughts, call your doctor immediately.

### Pregnancy And Breastfeeding

Sleep medicines may cause sedation or other potential effects in the unborn baby when used during the last weeks of pregnancy. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you become pregnant while taking LUNESTA.

In addition, a very small amount of LUNESTA may be present in breast milk after use of the medication. The effects of very small amounts of LUNESTA on an infant are not known; therefore, as with all other prescription sleep medicines, it is recommended that you not take LUNESTA if you are breastfeeding a baby.

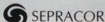
### Safe Use Of Sleep Medicines

To ensure the safe and effective use of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, you should observe the following cautions:

1. LUNESTA is a prescription medicine and should be used ONLY as directed by your doctor. Follow your doctor's instructions about how to take, when to take, and how long to take LUNESTA.
2. Never use LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine for longer than directed by your doctor.
3. If you notice any unusual and/or disturbing thoughts or behavior during treatment with LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, contact your doctor.
4. Tell your doctor about any medicines you may be taking, including medicines you may buy without a prescription and herbal preparations. You should also tell your doctor if you drink alcohol. DO NOT use alcohol while taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine.
5. Do not take LUNESTA unless you are able to get 6 or more hours of sleep before you need to be active again.
6. Do not increase the prescribed dose of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine unless instructed by your doctor.
7. When you first start taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some effect on you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
8. Be aware that you may have more sleeping problems the first night or two after stopping any sleep medicine.
9. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, if you become pregnant while taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, or if you are breastfeeding a baby while taking LUNESTA.
10. As with all prescription medicines, never share LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine with anyone else. Always store LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine in the original container and out of reach of children.
11. Be sure to tell your doctor if you suffer from depression.
12. LUNESTA works very quickly. You should only take LUNESTA immediately before going to bed.
13. For LUNESTA to work best, you should not take it with or immediately after a high-fat, heavy meal.
14. Some people, such as older adults (i.e., ages 65 and over) and people with liver disease, should start with the lower dose (1 mg) of LUNESTA. Your doctor may choose to start therapy at 2 mg. In general, adults under age 65 should be treated with 2 or 3 mg.
15. Each tablet is a single dose; do not crush or break the tablet.

**Note:** This summary provides important information about LUNESTA. If you would like more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist to let you read the Prescribing Information and then discuss it with him or her.

### Rx only



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Void where prohibited by law. Offer not available in New York State. New York State residents can go to Lunesta.com and download a \$25 rebate.

EXPIRATION DATE: 11/3/2006  
Good for 7 tablets Lunesta only  
(Please check mg strength)

☐ 1mg ☐ 2mg ☐ 3mg

Limit One Triascrip® voucher per patient. Redeem for product only when accompanied by a valid, signed prescription for LUNESTA.

Submit claim to McKesson Specialty Arizona Inc. using BIN #610500. For pharmacy processing questions, please call the Help Desk at 1-800-750-9835.

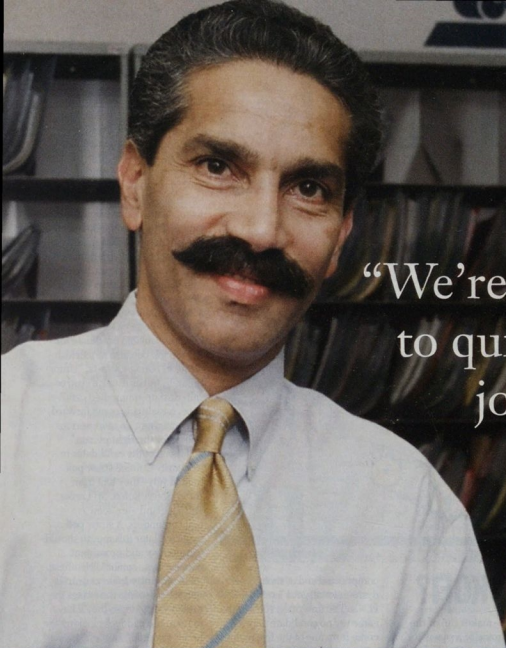
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“We’re not going  
to quit until the  
job is done”

—Sam Sisodia, *Chairman,*  
AHAF's Alzheimers Committee

Approximately 60,000 victims die and 350,000 new cases of Alzheimer's disease are diagnosed each year. That's why the American Health Assistance Foundation (AHAF) funds Alzheimers research by scientists who are as committed as Sam is to finding a cure.

Alzheimer's disease is a progressive, irreversible brain disorder with no known cause or cure. It attacks and slowly steals the minds of its

victims. Symptoms include memory loss, confusion, impaired judgment, personality changes, disorientation, and loss of language skills. Always fatal, Alzheimer's disease is the most common form of irreversible dementia.

Since 1985, Alzheimer's Disease Research (ADR), a program of AHAF has awarded over \$43 million to support promising Alzheimer's research.

#### *About AHAF*

The American Health Assistance Foundation (AHAF) is a registered 501(c)(3) nonprofit charitable organization dedicated to funding research on age-related and degenerative diseases, educating the public about these diseases, and providing emergency financial assistance to Alzheimer's disease patients and their caregivers.

American Health Assistance Foundation  
22512 Gateway Center Drive • Clarksburg, Maryland 20871  
1-800-437-2423 / [www.ahaf.org](http://www.ahaf.org)



ALZHEIMER'S  
DISEASE  
RESEARCH  
A Program of the  
American Health Assistance Foundation

# NoteBook

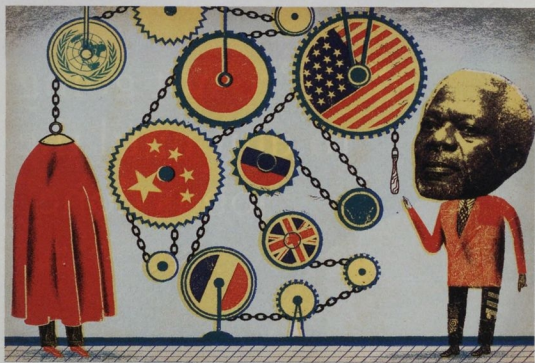


ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY CHRISTIAN KNIGHT

brings us to another wrinkle: traditional rivalries. This time around, forget any candidate from Japan. Its tense relations with P-5 member China mean a Japanese is a very long shot.

There's more. Public campaigning isn't seen as just bad form; it can lead to disqualification. Yet individuals are free to declare their candidacy, and governments may push a nominee. Many wannabes throw their hat into the ring each time the job opens up—maybe too many, say some. Brian Urquhart, a former Under Secretary-General but never a plausible candidate for the top job because he's British, wrote in *Foreign Affairs*, "Unfortunately, but as usual, a crop of self- or state-nominated candidates has already come forward, discouraging... a more serious search for the right person."

None of the candidates in a Security Council straw poll held in July—they hail from India, South Korea, Sri Lanka and Thailand—are seen as real contenders. A straw poll expected later this month should feature new and prominent names. Says a senior U.N. official:

"The most important countries don't seem to like the horses in the starting gate, so they'll have to roam the paddocks looking for better material." Insiders expect Prince Zeid al-Hussein, Jordan's U.N. envoy, to declare, though handicappers note that an Arab might be viewed as insufficiently impartial, given the turmoil in the Middle East. Other possible candidates are former Malaysian Deputy P.M. Anwar Ibrahim and two contenders to be the first female Secretary-General:

Singaporean  
Ambassador

## WHO CAN REPLACE KOFI?

**N**EW FLASH: "FOLLOWING American Ambassador to the United Nations John Bolton's suggestion that a woman—should be the United Nations' next Secretary-General, the predominantly male-dominated General Assembly voted unanimously for Angelina Jolie."

That nugget of fake news—on the satirical website

*bigfib.com*—makes fun of the looming choice of a successor to U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who steps down at year's end. If only the selection were that easy. In reality, the horsetrading and power politics involved in the search—which begins in earnest when diplomats gather this month in New York City for the 61st General Assembly—aren't much fun at all.

If you think the U.S. presidential selection process is too

complicated and at times dysfunctional, get a load of the U.N.'s. The unwritten rules of the game say no candidate may come from one of the five nations with a permanent seat on the Security Council—so no American, British, French, Russian or Chinese contenders. Yet to win the Secretary-General's post, a candidate must have the backing of all five countries. The U.N. has an unofficial system of regional rotation, so it is all but certain that its next leader will come from Asia. Which

### WHAT'S NEXT

#### ● Troops to Sudan?

**Khartoum opposes U.N. move** Bluster or backbone? The Security Council will meet Sudanese officials this week to discuss peace-keeping troops for Darfur. Sudan sees a threat to its sovereignty. But the U.N. may act anyway.

#### ● Ford Restructuring

**Carmaker may ditch Bond's ride** Sorry, 007. In an effort to speed up its turnaround, Ford said last week that it may sell off its Aston Martin unit. The ailing carmaker plans to cut 34,000 jobs and close 14 plants by 2012.







## THE MEANING OF WHITE

**H**ow important is your racial identity to you? Researchers long thought it wasn't that crucial to whites. But a groundbreaking new study on whiteness and race relations by University of Minnesota sociologists shows that whites in the U.S. are far more conscious of being white—and the privileges it brings—than was believed.

The survey is packed with fascinating findings, some surprising (a stunning proportion of whites—77%—say their race has a distinct culture that should be preserved) and some less so (whites view their role in the social hierarchy more benignly than blacks and Hispanics do). Whites are more likely to say prejudice and discrimination put blacks at a disadvantage than to say those factors contribute to white advantage. And they are much less likely than nonwhites to attribute inequality to bias in the legal system.

What to make of all this? Though whites in the U.S. believe there remain advantages to being white, they don't necessarily link those advantages with blacks' disadvantages. This hinders racial reconciliation, says co-author Douglas Hartmann: "Whites have invented subtle ways to convince themselves that race isn't a problem in America." Blacks do see more racism in society than whites but, contrary to stereotype, seem disinclined to blame the system for their disadvantage. In fact, they are more likely to attribute it to individual causes like a lack of hard work—77% did so, compared with 62% of whites. "We think of U.S. minorities as less engaged in American individualism," Hartmann says, "but they are maybe more so." —By *Janine Lee-St. John*

to Washington Chan Heng Chee—said to be a U.S. favorite—and New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark.

If Annan's selection a decade ago holds any clues, it could be months—tense, diplomatically bruising months—before his successor is chosen. The Ghanaian won after his predecessor, Egypt's Boutros

Boutros-Ghali, met stiff U.S. opposition to a second term. France and the U.S. battled ferociously over a replacement, enduring weeks of acrimony before Paris cried uncle and agreed to Annan less than three weeks before his predecessor's term was due to end. Diplomats, it seems, work best on deadline.

—By *Adam Zagorin*

“Those who know the truth need to speak out against these kinds of myths and distortions that are being told about our troops and about our country. America is not what’s wrong with the world.”

**DONALD RUMSFELD**, Defense Secretary, blaming the media for “dividing our country” and hindering the fight against “a new type of fascism”

“No more God-is-on-our-side religious nonsense.”

**ROCKY ANDERSON**, Democratic mayor of Salt Lake City, addressing an antiwar rally a day before President Bush visited the Utah capital

“Had we known that the kidnapping of the soldiers would have led to this, we would definitely not have done it.”

**SHEIK HASSAN NASRALLAH**, leader of Hizballah, on the capture of Israeli soldiers by his militant group, which sparked the current fighting

“It was the little train that couldn’t.”

**DAVID RUDDUCK**, American Red Cross spokesman, on tropical storm Ernesto, which hit Florida with weaker-than-expected force last week

“I liked the first picture better because there’s more of me to love.”

**KATIE COURIC**, who debuts as CBS Evening News anchor next week, after an in-house magazine ran a retouched photo that made her appear thinner

“The smaller aperture of the lid has been designed to prevent hedgehogs from entering the McFlurry container in the unfortunate incidence that the lid is littered.”

**MCDONALD’S**, in a statement on its decision to redesign its cups after protests by the British Hedgehog Preservation Society, which says the animals get stuck while trying to eat leftover ice cream, then starve to death

Sources: U.S. Department of Defense; AP; BBC; AP; New York Daily News; Reuters



On Time Mobile, you can now read Quotes of the Day from TIME.com on the web browser of your cell phone or mobile device. Go to [mobile.time.com](http://mobile.time.com)

## ● Shuttle Successor

**Orion set to blast off by 2014**  
NASA has awarded Lockheed a multibillion-dollar contract to build the next manned space vehicle. Orion’s design is winning praise, but skeptics wonder if future Administrations will fund it.

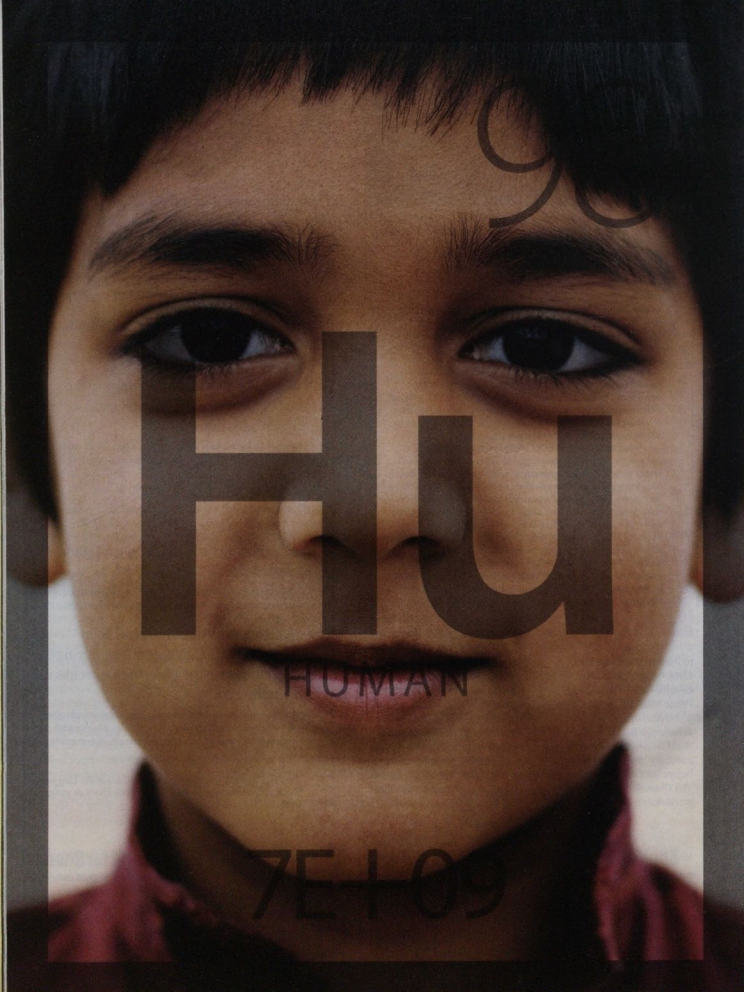
## ● Music Downloading

**SpiralFrog is free ... for a price**  
Pay with your eyes. SpiralFrog.com will soon let you download free music from Universal’s vast catalog—if you watch ads. But the songs expire without more ad views and can’t be put on iPods.

## ● School for Sheen

**West Wing actor goes collegiate**  
He got to be President without even a high school diploma. Now, with his NBC hit off the air, Martin Sheen, 66, is headed to college. He starts next week at the National University of Ireland.





90

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HUMAN

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**AND JUST LIKE THAT, THE LAWS OF CHEMISTRY CHANGE.** A world that includes

the Human Element, along with hydrogen, oxygen and the other elements, is a very different world



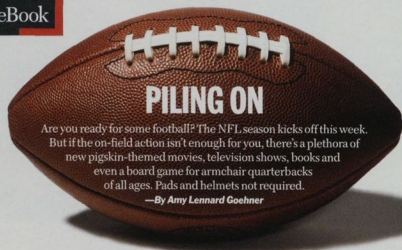
indeed. Suddenly, chemistry is put to work solving human problems. Bonds are formed

between aspirations and commitments. And the energy released from reactions fuels a



boundless spirit that will make the planet a safer, cleaner, more comfortable place for generations to

come. A world that welcomes change is about to meet the element of change: the Human Element.



Are you ready for some football? The NFL season kicks off this week. But if the on-field action isn't enough for you, there's a plethora of new pigskin-themed movies, television shows, books and even a board game for armchair quarterbacks of all ages. Pads and helmets not required.

—By Amy Lennard Goehner

#### MADE FOR TV

Passions don't run higher than in high school football. The MTV reality show *Two-A-Days*—the name refers to the practice sked—follows Alabama's Hoover High, while NBC's *Friday Night Lights*, right, is based on the film.

#### BIG-SCREEN DRAMA

Real-life events inspire three new films: the *Rocky*-like *Invincible* (out now); *Gridiron Gang*, starring the Rock, right (out Sept. 15); and *We Are Marshall*, about the 1970 air crash that killed most of the M.U. team (due Dec. 22).



#### PLAYBOOKS

John Madden has written a kids' book, *Heroes of Football*, while Michael Lewis (*Moneyball*) takes a clear-eyed look at the game in *The Blind Side*.

#### WHADDYA KNOW?

If you know what number Da Bears retired to honor Dick Butkus, you'll probably score pretty high in the new NFL *Gridiron Trivia Challenge* game. If you're asking "Dick who?", you haven't got a Hail Mary's chance.

FOOTBALL: JUDITH COLLINS—ALAMY; FRIDAY NIGHT LIGHTS: PAUL DRINKWATER—NBC; GRIDIRON GANG: JOHN BRANLEY—COLUMBIA PICTURES



THE ANA LOG

Reporting from her Washington base camp, **ANA MARIE COX** dishes the dirt on D.C.

NOW, SCOOT According to a new book, **Richard Armitage**, Deputy Secretary of State until February '05, was actually the first person to reveal the identity of CIA agent Valerie Plame. Washington reacts with stunned silence and wishes it could have back the time and energy that it devoted to Plamegate. (How much do you think I could get on eBay for my "Free Judy Miller" T shirt?)

BRIDGE TO KNOW WHERE Bloggers left and right dug up the identities of Senator(s) who put a "secret hold" on legislation to open up records on earmarks. One turns out to be Alaska Republican **Ted Stevens**, that tireless advocate for the Bridge to Nowhere. The Internet may not be, as Stevens delightfully put it earlier this year, a "series of tubes," but it happens to be an awesome tracking device.

IMHO, LOL! Probable 2008 Dem presidential candidate **Mark Warner** holds a "virtual town hall" online. His advance team is clearly new at this: Warner's avatar, who flies onto the stage (a handy skill, considering Beltway traffic), is interrupted when—the *Washington Post* reports—"a large woman in a red skirt levitated out of her seat in the audience and hovered, weightless." Wow. Hillary will do anything for attention.

IN CHAD WE TRUST Lovably daffy Senate candidate **Katherine Harris** of Florida gives a civics cum theology lesson to Baptists: separation of church and state is "a lie we have been told." What's more, "God is the one who chooses our rulers." And here we thought it was the Supreme Court's job.



## A PRAYER FOR THE DEMS

Where should Democrats be tawling for votes? Try megachurches. The fast-growing suburban congregations have long been seen as hard-core G.O.P. supporters. But *Applebee's America*, a new book aimed at helping political, business and religious leaders market themselves, disagrees. The authors—ex-Bill Clinton aide Douglas Sosnik, Bush strategist Matthew Dowd and journalist

Ron Fournier—analyzed 2004 exit polls and found that Protestant suburbanites who attend church at least weekly are 49% Democrat or independent and 39% believe in gay rights. "Democratic leaders should stop stereotyping and start targeting," they write. If Dems do, they may find an audience that's used to it—the authors interviewed megachurch pastors like Rick Warren, who talk frankly about employing tools like polling to build their flocks. —By Mike Allen

**Pastor Rick Warren preaches good news that politicians can use**





# Announcing APC Data Center Test Drive Days, September 18-22

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Promotional Supplier

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## Get FREE gear, plus a chance to win great prizes!\*

When you attend an APC Test Drive Days event (Sept. 18-22), you'll get **FREE APC gear\*\*** and also be entered to win one of the following great prizes:



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NUMBERS

**10%** Average increase in a cigarette's nicotine yield—the amount of the chemical inhaled by a smoker—between 1998 and 2004

**3.2 mg** Nicotine yield of one Newport 100 menthol cigarette—the highest of any brand and up 10% from what it was in 1998

**31** Number of states in which the obesity rate rose over the past year

**2/3** Proportion of Americans who are overweight or obese

**29.5%** Percentage of Mississippians who are obese—the highest level of any state

**103 in.** Screen size of Panasonic's newest plasma TV, which will be the largest television on the market when it makes its planned debut at Christmas

**8.2 hr.** Average time spent watching TV each day in the American household in 2005—up more than an hour a day since '95



**\$55** Price of a marriage license in Clark County, Nev., which decided last week to close its Las Vegas licensing office from midnight to 8 a.m. as a cost-cutting move, ending the long tradition of impromptu late-night marriages

**122,259** Number of marriage licenses the county issued in 2005

Sources: Massachusetts Department of Health (2); Trust for America's Health (3); Panasonic; Nielsen Media Research; Reuters (2)

PUNCHLINES



“There’s a hurricane watch for Tropical Storm Ernesto. That’s the name: Ernesto. See, even the hurricanes are getting smarter. They know a Hispanic hurricane has a better chance of getting into the country.”

JAY LENO

“Anybody here from Wisconsin? All right, put down the cheese for a second. I got to talk to you. Listen to this: A guy in Wisconsin, he created a ball of twine that weighs 19,000 lbs. Nineteen thousand pounds, a ball of twine—and guess what, girls? He’s single.”

DAVID LETTERMAN

EITHER YOU’RE A LEMMING OR YOU’RE DISLOYAL.



AT LAST SOMEONE HAS STEPPED FORWARD TO CONFESS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE KATRINA DEBACLE!



“Apple has issued a recall on several models of Mac laptops because the battery can overheat and catch fire. Experts say a Mac fire is just like a PC fire, except it’s more hip and condescending.”

CONAN O’BRIEN

For more humor, go to [time.com/cartoons](http://time.com/cartoons)

WALT HANDLES/SHAN—NEWSDAY; BRUCE PLANTE—CHATTANOOGA TIMES; DOUG MARLETTE



# Cholesterol comes from 2 sources: Food and Family



## VYTORIN treats both

You probably know cholesterol comes from food. But what you might not know is that cholesterol has a lot to do with family history. VYTORIN treats both sources of cholesterol.

**Only VYTORIN** helps block the absorption of cholesterol that comes from food and reduces the cholesterol that your body makes naturally. A healthy diet is important, but when it's not enough, adding VYTORIN can help.

**In clinical trials, VYTORIN lowered bad cholesterol more than *Lipitor* alone.** VYTORIN contains two cholesterol medicines: *Zetia*<sup>®</sup> (ezetimibe) and *Zocor* (simvastatin) in a single tablet.

Please read the Patient Product Information on the adjacent page.

**Important information:** VYTORIN is a prescription tablet and isn't right for everyone, including women who are nursing or pregnant or who may become pregnant, and anyone with liver problems.

Unexplained muscle pain or weakness could be a sign of a rare but serious side effect and should be reported to your doctor right away. VYTORIN may interact with other medicines or certain foods, increasing your risk of getting this serious side effect. So, tell your doctor about any other medications you are taking.

To learn more, simply call 1-877-VYTORIN or visit [vytorin.com](http://vytorin.com).

Continue to follow a healthy diet, and ask your doctor about adding VYTORIN.



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To find out if you qualify, call 1-800-347-7503.

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(ezetimibe/simvastatin)

**Treat the 2 sources of cholesterol.**



**Patient Information about VYTORIN (VI-tor-in)**  
Generic name: ezetimibe/simvastatin tablets

Read this information carefully before you start taking VYTORIN. Review this information each time you refill your prescription for VYTORIN as there may be new information. This information does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or your treatment. If you have any questions about VYTORIN, ask your doctor. Only your doctor can determine if VYTORIN is right for you.

**What is VYTORIN?**

VYTORIN is a medicine used to lower levels of total cholesterol, LDL (bad) cholesterol, and fatty substances called triglycerides in the blood. In addition, VYTORIN raises levels of HDL (good) cholesterol. It is used for patients who cannot control their cholesterol levels by diet alone. You should stay on a cholesterol-lowering diet while taking this medicine.

VYTORIN works to reduce your cholesterol in two ways. It reduces the cholesterol absorbed in your digestive tract, as well as the cholesterol your body makes by itself. VYTORIN does not help you lose weight.

**Who should not take VYTORIN?**

Do not take VYTORIN:

- If you are allergic to ezetimibe or simvastatin, the active ingredients in VYTORIN, or to the inactive ingredients. For a list of inactive ingredients, see the "Inactive ingredients" section at the end of this information sheet.
- If you have active liver disease or repeated blood tests indicating possible liver problems.
- If you are pregnant, or think you may be pregnant, or planning to become pregnant or breast-feeding.

VYTORIN is not recommended for use in children under 10 years of age.

**What should I tell my doctor before and while taking VYTORIN?**

**Tell your doctor right away if you experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness. This is because on rare occasions, muscle problems can be serious, including muscle breakdown resulting in kidney damage.**

The risk of muscle breakdown is greater at higher doses of VYTORIN.

The risk of muscle breakdown is greater in patients with kidney problems.

Taking VYTORIN with certain substances can increase the risk of muscle problems. It is particularly important to tell your doctor if you are taking any of the following:

- cyclosporine

- danazol
- antifungal agents (such as itraconazole or ketoconazole)
- fibric acid derivatives (such as gemfibrozil, bezafibrate, or fenofibrate)
- the antibiotics erythromycin, clarithromycin, and telithromycin
- HIV protease inhibitors (such as indinavir, nelfinavir, ritonavir, and saquinavir)
- the antidepressant nefazodone
- amiodarone (a drug used to treat an irregular heartbeat)
- verapamil (a drug used to treat high blood pressure, chest pain associated with heart disease, or other heart conditions)
- large doses ( $\geq 1$  g/day) of niacin or nicotinic acid
- large quantities of grapefruit juice ( $> 1$  quart daily)

It is also important to tell your doctor if you are taking coumarin anticoagulants (drugs that prevent blood clots, such as warfarin).

Tell your doctor about any prescription and nonprescription medicines you are taking or plan to take, including natural or herbal remedies.

Tell your doctor about all your medical conditions including allergies.

Tell your doctor if you:

- drink substantial quantities of alcohol or ever had liver problems. VYTORIN may not be right for you.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. Do not use VYTORIN if you are pregnant, trying to become pregnant or suspect that you are pregnant. If you become pregnant while taking VYTORIN, stop taking it and contact your doctor immediately.
- are breast-feeding. Do not use VYTORIN if you are breast-feeding.

Tell other doctors prescribing a new medication that you are taking VYTORIN.

**How should I take VYTORIN?**

- Take VYTORIN once a day, in the evening, with or without food.
- Try to take VYTORIN as prescribed. If you miss a dose, do not take an extra dose. Just resume your usual schedule.
- Continue to follow a cholesterol-lowering diet while taking VYTORIN. Ask your doctor if you need diet information.
- Keep taking VYTORIN unless your doctor tells you to stop. If you stop taking VYTORIN, your cholesterol may rise again.

**What should I do in case of an overdose?**

Contact your doctor immediately.

**What are the possible side effects of VYTORIN?**

See your doctor regularly to check your cholesterol level and to check for side effects. Your doctor may do blood tests to check your liver before you start taking VYTORIN and during treatment.

In clinical studies patients reported the following common side effects while taking VYTORIN: headache and muscle pain (see What should I tell my doctor before and while taking VYTORIN?).

The following side effects have been reported in general use with either ezetimibe or simvastatin tablets (tablets that contain the active ingredients of VYTORIN):

- allergic reactions including swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and/or throat that may cause difficulty in breathing or swallowing (which may require treatment right away), rash, hives; joint pain; alterations in some laboratory blood tests; liver problems; inflammation of the pancreas; nausea; gallstones; inflammation of the gallbladder.

Tell your doctor if you are having these or any other medical problems while on VYTORIN. This is not a complete list of side effects. For a complete list, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

**General Information about VYTORIN**

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not use VYTORIN for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give VYTORIN to other people, even if they have the same condition you have. It may harm them.

This summarizes the most important information about VYTORIN. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your pharmacist or doctor for information about VYTORIN that is written for health professionals. For additional information, visit the following web site: [vymorin.com](http://vymorin.com).

**Inactive ingredients:**

Butylated hydroxyanisole NF, citric acid monohydrate USP, croscarmellose sodium NF, hydroxypropyl methylcellulose USP, lactose monohydrate NF, magnesium stearate NF, microcrystalline cellulose NF, and propyl gallate NF.

Issued June 2005



Merck / Schering-Plough Pharmaceuticals

Manufactured for:  
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# Milestones

FROM LEFT: ANN HEISENFEIT/AP EVERETT

**ARRESTED.** Warren Jeffs, 50, fugitive leader of the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, a polygamist Mormon sect, who had been on the FBI's 10 Most Wanted list since May; for allegedly arranging marriages between underage girls and older men; near Las Vegas. Jeffs, who is believed to have at least 40 wives and 60 children, is officially the church's "President and Prophet, Seer and Revelator." He was traveling in a car with a wife, a brother, several disguises and cell phones and more than \$50,000 in cash. Jeffs, who vanished after being indicted in Mohave County, Ariz., last year, was extradited to Utah, where he was also wanted on a charge of acting as an accomplice to rape.



▼ **HONORED.** Billie Jean King, 62, trailblazing athlete and social activist; by the United States Tennis Association, which named the National Tennis Center, home to the U.S. Open, for the champion; in New York City. In recognizing King—a loud voice for gays, women and other minorities—the USTA gave up millions it could

have earned in corporate naming rights but succeeded, said USTA chief Arlen Kantarian, at making it "clear that some things are not for sale." King won 39 Grand Slam titles, successfully lobbied for equal pay at the Open, jump-started the women's tour and famously trounced chauvinist Bobby Riggs in a television 1973 "Battle of the Sexes" match.

**DIED.** Robert (Bob) Mathias, 75, legendary Olympian and former U.S. Congressman; in Fresno, Calif. Having taken up the decathlon only months before the 1948 London Olympics, Mathias won the gold medal at age 17. To celebrate, he said, "I'll start shaving, I guess." He repeated the feat at the next Olympics. As a Republican, he represented California in the House from 1967 to 1974.



◀ **DIED.** Glenn Ford, 90, nice-guy leading man who won consistent critical praise over a career that spanned a half-century and more than 80 films; in Los Angeles. Born in Canada to parents who insisted he learn to build and fix houses as a

fallback, Ford epitomized decency and strength as the good guy in westerns, comedies and thrillers—including *The Blackboard Jungle*, as a teacher who inspires rebellious New York City kids; *Pocketful of Miracles*, with Bette Davis; and the noir classic *The Big Heat*, as a detective determined to track down his wife's killers. Of his genre-crossing career, he once said simply, "I like to work."

**DIED.** Vashti McCollum, 93, Illinois housewife and humanist (a term she preferred to *atheist*) whose objections to religion classes at her son's school led to a landmark 1948 Supreme Court ruling protecting separation of church and state in public education; in Champaign, Ill. After her son decided he did not want to attend the Protestant-oriented classes—Jews and Catholics went off-campus for instruction—she sued the school board. McCollum, who endured threats to her family and lost her job, later said she fought because "I knew I was right."

## The Veteran Vulcan



UPDATE

His Spock days over, Nimoy now prefers to be behind the camera

"Change is the essential process of all existence," Spock once said on *Star Trek*. This week marks the 40th anniversary of the show's first episode, and LEONARD NIMOY, who played the pointy-eared half-Vulcan for 25 years, seems to have made that onscreen line his offscreen credo. Now retired from show biz, Nimoy says photography is his "primary artistic expression." His dreamy images—many of women—are displayed in galleries across the country. He has published several books of his photos, usually accompanied by his poetry. His most recent, *Shekhina*, explores the mythological "feminine aspect of God."

Nimoy hasn't abandoned his otherworldly roots. For *Star Trek's* 40th, he and William Shatner, who "see each other regularly," will tour to meet fans around the country. "I'm very proud that after 40 years, people are still interested," says Nimoy—which means he knows the import of another of his roles; he has a say in the casting of a younger Spock for the 11th *Star Trek* movie, due out in 2008. —By Nina Vizzarondo



To me, **Naguib Mahfouz**, who died last week at 94, was a true hero in this Islamophobic age, the sort of brilliant, embattled writer and public intellectual who has almost ceased to exist. Prolific and serene, Naguib-bey stood his ground, which was Egypt. He did not leave, even to collect his Nobel Prize. He wrote about growing up in Cairo, about movie stars, madmen, beggars, pashas, gods and religion. His bravest book is *Children of the Alley*, with its parable of Islam—banned in most Arab countries. Condemned to death in a fatwa issued by Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, he continued defiantly walking the streets of Cairo until one day in 1994 he was stabbed by a fanatic.

When I visited him in the hospital after the attack, he was ailing. Diabetic, deaf and almost sightless—yet he was, in his way, full of life. For years afterward, he held salons at which he encouraged people to discuss literature and world events. "I feel no hatred," he told me once, "but it is very bad to try to kill someone for a book you haven't read." —By Paul Theroux

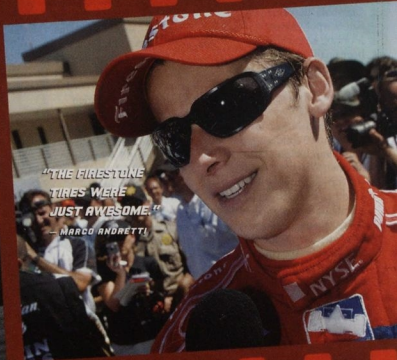
CHRIS STEELE/FRANK-MAGNUM PHOTOS

FROM TOP: FRAZER HARRISON/GETTY; PARAMOUNT-EVERETT



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— MARCO ANDRETTI



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Joe Klein

# What Bush Should Have Said

**M**Y FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, I HAVE MADE some serious mistakes and miscalculations in our struggle against Islamic extremism over the past five years. Some of these were made out of anger and impatience in the months after we were so viciously attacked on Sept. 11, 2001. Others were made out of my heartfelt belief that our American values—freedom, democracy, market economics—are the surest path away from the fury and despair that have plagued the nations at the heart of the Islamic world. I still believe deeply in those values.

I am still convinced that we are facing a long-term campaign against Islamic extremists who have the means to bring unimaginable horrors to our streets. But events in Lebanon and Iraq this summer have convinced me that our Freedom Agenda must be modified.

I was going to deliver a speech today in which I said, "The war we fight today is more than a military conflict. It is the decisive ideological struggle of the 21st century." But then I thought about a conversation I had recently with a young U.S. military officer, a combat veteran of the Iraq war who remains on active duty, committed to our mission. "Mr. President," he said. "If this struggle is so important, why is this the only war in American history where we haven't increased the size of the Army and raised taxes to pay for it? Why haven't you mobilized the nation?"

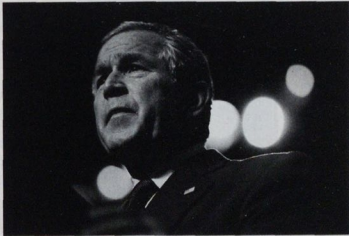
In the speech I planned to deliver, I would have spoken—too easily, too dismissively—about how previous Presidents pursued a mistaken policy of seeking "stability" in the Middle East, which resulted in the terrorist attacks against us. I would have implied that my aggressive promotion of democracy was the only alternative to the failed policies of the past. But that would have posed a false choice. Stability is, after all, our goal for the region. And we have learned, sadly, in recent years that the mere act of holding an election does not create a democracy. Indeed, in many countries of the region—in the Palestinian territories, Iran and, yes, Iraq—elections have brought the forces of instability to power.

Which brings me to Iraq. I want to tell you something I've never acknowledged: the U.N. inspection regime that was forced on Saddam Hussein in 2002 was working. We should have had more patience with it and supported it more fully. In the end, it would have revealed what we now know: that Saddam had no weapons of mass destruction. That revelation would have destroyed the dictator's credibility. His brutal regime might have toppled from within. At the very least, his power would have been severely compromised. But—impatient again—we rushed to war, without sufficient preparation and sufficient allies.

Today we face a very difficult situation in Iraq. The government of Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki is riddled with Islamic radicals. This week elements of the Iraqi army were attacked and defeated in Diwaniyah by a sectarian militia led by the radical Shi'ite Muqtada al-Sadr. This is the same al-Sadr who attacked U.S. forces in 2004, the same al-Sadr who controls 30 seats in the Iraqi parliament—and who is the linchpin of al-Maliki's governing coalition. I say this to Prime Minister al-Maliki: The U.S. cannot support a government that includes Muqtada al-Sadr. You must build a new coalition, one that includes the secular political parties and Sunnis and guarantees the Sunni minority the rights and the share of Iraqi oil revenues it deserves. We have not sacrificed 2,600 Americans to create a radical Shi'ite government in Iraq.

One of the many books I've read this summer was *Fiasco*, by Tom Ricks of the *Washington Post*. It is a careful summation of the military mistakes we've made in Iraq. It ends with a series of scenarios for what might happen if we withdraw now. All have terrible implications for the region and the world. So we must stay in Iraq, but we must stay

smarter. To that end, I announce the following initiatives. I call on President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad of Iran to meet with me one on one to discuss the stabilization of Iraq. In time I hope we can also discuss other issues, like his government's nuclear program and support for Hizballah, and the resumption of normal diplomatic relations between our countries. But, President Ahmadinejad, as a veteran of the Iran-Iraq war, you must appreciate the disastrous potential of the chaos on your western border. Surely you don't want to risk the possibility of a regional Sunni reaction that would bring



Bush at the Legionnaires' convention in Salt Lake City, Utah, last week

fire to your oil fields and death, once again, to the streets of Tehran.

Here at home, I call on Democrats to join with me in building an alternative energy strategy to limit our dependence on foreign oil. Everything is on the table, including a tax on carbon-based fuels. Finally, to achieve stability in Baghdad during the creation of the new governing coalition, I am temporarily sending two divisions—30,000 more troops—to pacify that troubled city. If a stable, moderate, inclusive Iraqi government is not created, we may be forced to reassess our military posture in the region. These initiatives may not succeed. But the time for fancy words and grand theories about changing the world has passed. We need to take action now.



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TIME

# WHAT WE'VE LEARNED

By Nancy Gibbs

AN AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN, TRAVELING IN INDIA WHEN THE planes struck the towers, made his way back to the U.S. the following week as quickly as he could. That meant hopscotching across the Middle East, stopping in Athens overnight to change planes. He spent the evening having supper in a local taverna. No one else in the restaurant spoke English, but when the owner realized he had an American in the house just two nights after 9/11, he asked his guest to stand up, face the other diners and listen to a toast.

And indeed, the entire room stood up, raised their glasses and said, as one, "Shoulder to shoulder, until justice is done."

Five years later, after an invasion of Afghanistan and an occupation of Iraq, and amid talk of war with Iran, it is fair to ask:

Would they say it again tonight?

Would we say it to one another?

This has become the loss with no grave, no chance for mourning, because we still live it every day—the loss of that transcendent unity, global goodwill, common purpose born of righteous anger that wrapped us like a bandage those first months after the attacks: a President with a 90% approval rating, a Congress working as one, expressions of sympathy and offers of help from every corner of the planet. WE ARE ALL AMERICANS, said *Le Monde*.

That unity was never going to last. The world more easily prefers a superpower when it's wounded and weakened than when it rises and grows. But we have not merely returned to the messy family arguments of Sept. 10. We are divided at home, dreaded abroad, in need of a hard conversation about America's

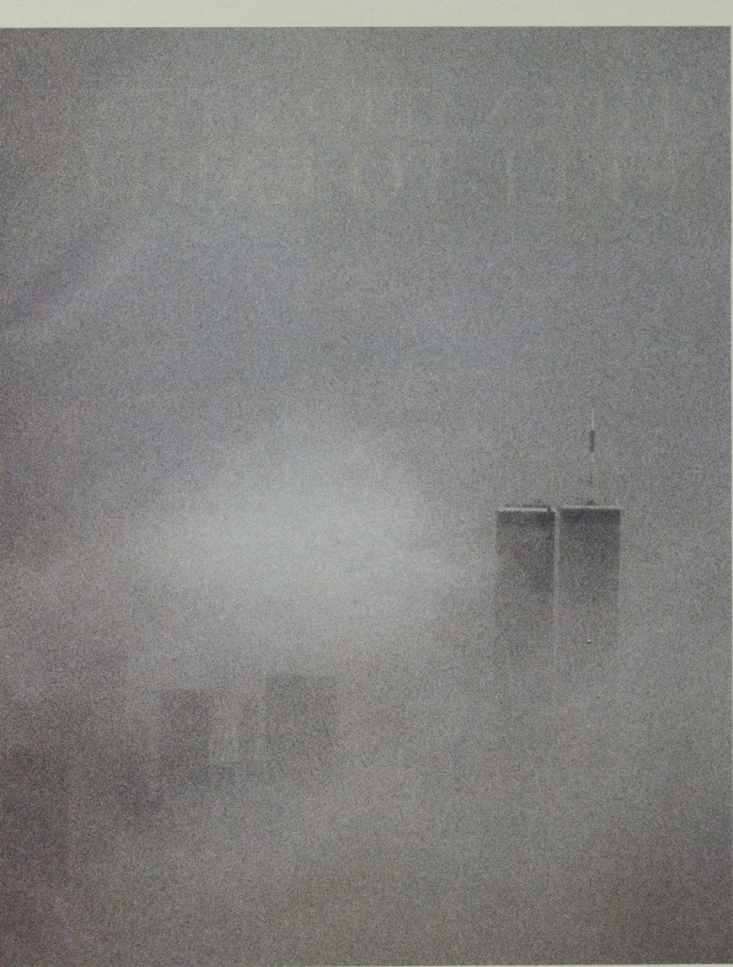
vital interests and abiding values but too bitter and suspicious to have it.

All wars, even the noblest, bring a reckoning of means and ends. The war on terrorism has long since lost its crisp moral lines. Who foresaw that the battle would require a national seminar about when it's O.K. for Americans to torture prisoners and whether near drowning counts? Or a debate over which clauses of the Constitution might be expendable? We may agree that terrorism is wicked, but we're still unsure about how to answer it.

Presidents make their hard decisions and then abide forever with their mistakes and regrets. Since the decision to commit soldiers to battle is the most fateful he makes, it is here that a President—his instincts, his judgment, his pride and his purposes—is most exposed. If he succeeds, the errors are footnotes; if he fails, the best intentions are just dust. "I guess not many Presidents have been understood in their own time," Lyndon Johnson said, reflecting on all the good he'd tried to do for people, who despised him nonetheless. George W. Bush swats away the judgments that anniversaries invite. "There's no such thing as short-term history, as far as I'm concerned," he said last week. We can't know how the story ends, but we know that there was a time five years ago when every day was Memorial Day, when we never would have imagined that we'd care what Brad and Angelina's baby looked like, or dread air travel more for its inconvenience than its dangers.

Is that good news, a return to normalcy, a mark of resilience? Or does it too mark a kind of loss? In the weeks after 9/11, out of the pain and the fear there arose also grace and gratitude, eruptions of intense kindness that occurred everywhere, a sharp resolve to just be better, bigger, to shed the nonsense, rise to the occasion. And yet five years later, more than two-thirds of Americans say they are unhappy with how things are going—exactly the opposite of the weeks after the attacks, when people were crushed, but hopeful. We saw back then what we were capable of at our best, and now find ourselves just moving on, willing to listen to our leaders but not necessarily believe them, supporting the troops but disputing their mission, waiting, more resigned than resolved, for the next twist in the plot.

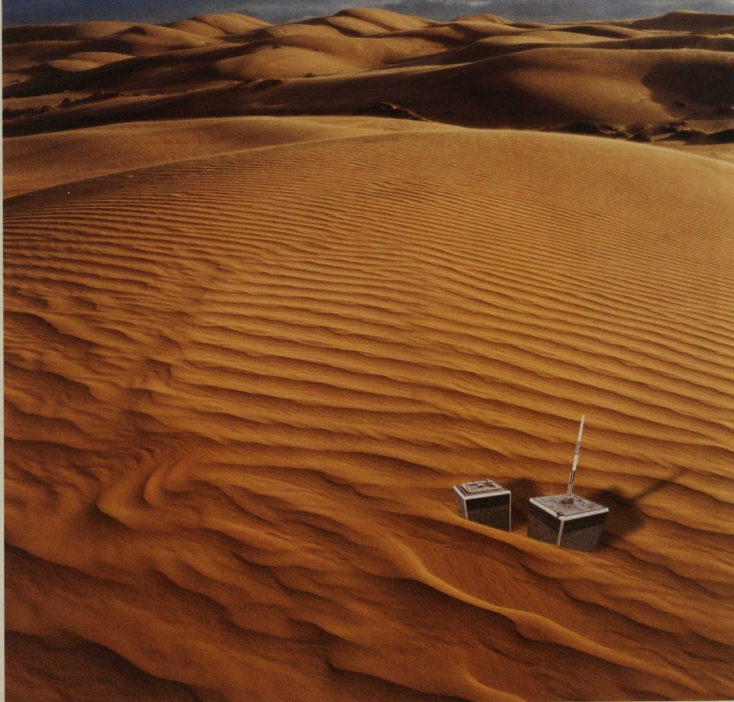
No, we don't know how the story ends. The idea that history is written by the victors has been wrongly credited to Winston Churchill, but he did say, "If you are going through hell, keep going." But you wonder whether years from now—50? 100? 500—there will come a day when the victors actually know that they've won, that the battle is over and they can set about the writing. And whether even then, we will be sure that we have got the story right. ■





# THE NATION THAT FELL TO EARTH

By Niall Ferguson





## Did the U.S. overreact to Sept. 11? Niall Ferguson, one of the world's leading historians, speculates on how future generations will judge the war on terrorism—and on what it will take for America to win it

*It's the year 2031—one generation removed from Sept. 11, 2001—and Americans are commemorating the 30th anniversary of the terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington. How well did America respond to that day, when viewed with the benefit of hindsight? How has history judged our leaders' actions? Here, a historian looks back on that distant event and explains how 9/11 would change America, and the world, in ways that few could have imagined.*

# Nineteen

**TERRORISTS. FOUR HIJACKED AIRCRAFT. NEARLY 3,000 VICTIMS. IT** all happened in little more than an hour, between a quarter to nine and 10 in the morning on Sept. 11, 2001. But the war that started that day was destined to last years, many years.

At first they called it the Global War on Terrorism. In time, historians rebranded it the Great War for Democracy.

It was a conflict that changed forever the face of the Middle East. It was a war that fundamentally altered the international balance of power. But it was far from clear that those shifts were favorable to the U.S. Some pessimists, with the benefit of hindsight, suggested that the years after 9/11 marked the beginning of the end of the American Century. But others maintained that it was the beginning of a different kind of American Century.

No question, 9/11 was an act of war. But was the U.S. reaction to it the right one? In 2006, five years after 9/11, the answer to that query still seemed unresolved. According to a *TIME/Discovery* Channel poll taken on the eve of the anniversary, nearly 70% of Americans believed the war against terrorism would not be won within 10 years. But looked at from the vantage point of 2031—three decades after the terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington—the debate is over. Thirty years later, the Great War for Democracy has been won. And not many people in 2006 would have predicted the winner.

## I

### THE WAR FOR DEMOCRACY

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF A TRAUMATIC EVENT LIKE 9/11 CHANGES WITH the passage of time. On the fifth anniversary of the attacks, memories were still fresh; to those who lived through that day, it was unfathomable that three decades later many Americans would have no memory at all of what happened back in 2001. As a 67-year-old writing in the year 2031—at an age that used to qualify me as a senior citizen before that term was banned as ageist, and before the standard retirement age was raised to 80—I can still remember 9/11 pretty clearly. But today I in every 3 Americans is under age 30. And so I had better explain why I think the attacks constituted the first battle in a War for Democracy.

It was a new-style democratic war from the very outset because the enemy chose as its targets not

masses of troops or military installations, as in traditional war, but U.S. civilians—ordinary people going about their business on planes, in tower blocks, in government offices. And it was democratic because the perpetrators took advantage of the very freedoms inherent in democracy to lay their murderous plans.

It was democratic too in the sense that the U.S. was able to wage a war of retaliation with minimal coercion of its own citizens. There was no draft, no censorship of the press and—a first—no economic squeeze to pay for the war. On the contrary, Americans were told it was their patriotic duty to carry on consuming.

"We're an empire now," a senior White House aide declared in 2004. But the U.S. doggedly remained a republic, to the disappointment of a few hawkish commentators and the relief of everyone else. Elections happened as usual. When torture was used against suspected terrorists, for example, the press howled. When suspects were detained without charge, the courts intervened. As Supreme Court Associate Justice Sandra Day O'Connor put it, "A state of war isn't a blank check for the President when it comes to the rights of the nation's citizens." To many Americans, indeed, the whole point of the war was to preserve their country's democratic institutions. And unlike its fighting partners in World War II, when the Soviet despot Joseph Stalin was a confederate, America's key allies in the Global War on Terrorism were also democracies.

Most significant, the war that began on Sept. 11, 2001, was democratic in a strategic sense, since the democratization of the greater Middle East became one of America's principal war aims. It was an aim inspired by the democratic-peace theory, which stated that democracies were less likely to go to war with one another than were other kinds of states and that therefore a world with more democracies would be a more peaceful world. That became President George W. Bush's central argument for the post-9/11 invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Bush summed up the strategy in his second Inaugural Address, in 2005: "The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in all the world."

With all the vast resources of a hyperpower at the President's disposal, that was not a wholly unrealistic objective. But while Bush's analysis may have been accurate, the execution of it was fatally flawed. Far from reducing conflict in the Middle East, forcible democratization turned out to have just the opposite effect, unleashing violent centrifugal forces that were beyond American power to control. By focusing its efforts on rogue states, the U.S. ignored the fact that the terrorists' most important area of activity was not the Middle East but stable, prosperous, democratic Western Europe. And while a war against a rogue regime was as asymmetric as a turkey shoot, the same could not be said of a war

### A SECOND OPINION

Despite some setbacks, the Bush Administration's response to 9/11 will prove to be the right one, argues Max Boot (see page 44)

against diffuse terrorist networks. It became fashionable in the years after 9/11 to speak of "Islamofascism." In reality, the enemy was more like communism in its heyday: international in its scope, revolutionary in its ambitions and adept at recruiting covert operatives in the West. The right tactic to defeat it was not conventional warfare but tedious intelligence work—monitoring telephone calls, tracking financial transactions, shadowing suspects, infiltrating cells.

Above all, Americans underestimated the difficulty of waging war effectively on the basis of democratic business as usual at home. The more normality was preserved in the U.S., the harder it became for ordinary people to understand why American soldiers were risking their lives in faraway countries. And yet the longer the war dragged on, the greater the strain on the U.S. economy.

For all those reasons, it was hardly surprising that, by the time of the fifth anniversary, many experts argued that the U.S. reaction to 9/11 had failed to eliminate the terrorist threat and instead had made the world a more dangerous place. Bush's defenders, meanwhile, insisted that the President's strategy was still the one that would ultimately win the war on terrorism. Only history could determine which side would be proved right.

## II

### THE LAND THAT FELL TO EARTH

FOR A BRIEF TIME ON THAT BRIGHT, BLUE SEPTEMBER MORNING, it seemed that the hidden vulnerability of the American colossus had been laid bare. The desperate decisions of some World Trade Center employees to leap to their deaths rather than burn in the flames, the heartrending phone calls of the doomed passengers on the fateful flights, the apocalyptic tsunami of dust that engulfed lower Manhattan as the Twin Towers imploded and fell—this was America's waking nightmare.

It was also a dream come true for America's enemies. Osama bin Laden, the terrorist leader behind the attacks, exulted at his triumph. "Praise be to God," he declared in a proclamation issued less than a month after 9/11. "What the United States tastes today is a very small thing compared to what we have tasted for tens of years."

It did not take long, however, for 9/11 to lose the look of a truly earth-shattering event. It was, after all, scarcely a revelation that radical Islamist organizations like al-Qaeda posed a threat to the U.S.; they had tried to blow up the World Trade Center once before. Nor did 9/11 cause the severe economic disruption its plotters had intended. The attacks were spectacular, as bin Laden had hoped. Yet for most people—save the relatives of those killed—life returned to normal in a surprisingly short time.

Moreover, the subsequent military onslaughts against the Taliban in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein in Iraq seemed to reaffirm the irresistible extent of American hyperpower. Phrases like "full-spectrum dominance" and "shock and awe" entered the military parlance as the Pentagon struck back. *The National Security Strategy of the United States*, published in 2002, unabashedly asserted the right of the U.S. not merely to retaliate but also to act pre-emptively "against ... emerging threats before they are fully formed."

For the Bush Administration, 9/11 was as much an opportunity as a crisis. Bush had not been elected on the basis of his foreign policy expertise, but his gut instinct was to go beyond mere retaliation. The idea that the U.S. should respond to the attacks



2005 Four years after 9/11, U.S. troops were a major presence in Iraq.

by fundamentally changing the status quo in the Middle East originated with the so-called neoconservatives whom Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld had gathered around him at the Pentagon. If Rumsfeld and Vice President Dick Cheney saw 9/11 as an opportunity to settle accounts with Saddam, the neocons had loftier ambitions. They saw a chance to achieve a political transformation of the Middle East. What nobler goal could there be for U.S. military might than a democratic revolution?

By the fall of 2003, just two years after the 9/11 attacks, doubts had begun to creep back in. The most striking manifestation of American miscalculation was the refusal of Iraqis to peacefully embrace the nascent democracy created for them by U.S. arms. Far from abating, violence in Iraq increased over time. Part of the problem was the insufficiency of U.S. boots on the ground. General Eric Shinseki turned out to have been right that "something on the order of several hundred thousand soldiers" would be needed to stabilize post-Saddam Iraq. Trying to do the job with around 135,000—roughly 1 American for every 210 Iraqis—exposed a part of the spectrum that the U.S. could not fully dominate: the Arab street. U.S. soldiers patrolling strife-torn cities could be killed or maimed by the simplest of improvised explosive devices. Here was a new and shocking symmetry in warfare.

To make matters worse, the public appetite for the war in Iraq faded long before a real victory was achieved. Just 12 months after the original invasion—even before the U.S. death toll in Iraq passed the thousand mark—support for the war had dropped be-



By 2031, Niall Ferguson may have retired as the Laurence A. Tisch professor of history at Harvard University and a senior fellow of the Hoover Institution at Stanford. His latest book, *The War of the World: Twentieth-Century Conflict and the Descent of the West*, has just been published by Penguin Press.



Here, they prepared to battle insurgents in a city near the Syrian border

low 50%. True, new evidence came to light of the dictator's crimes against his own people. True, opinion polls suggested that Iraqis overwhelmingly preferred democracy to Saddam. But U.S. voters did not see these as sufficient grounds for risking American lives. The Bush Administration's contentions that Saddam had links to al-Qaeda and possessed weapons of mass destruction proved groundless.

Almost as big a miscalculation was the military's failure to understand the nature of the threat to Iraq's security. At first it seemed as if the U.S.-led coalition was facing an insurgency led by Saddam loyalists, with the support of foreign terrorists linked to al-Qaeda. But increasingly what was happening in Iraq was a sectarian war between the Sunni minority and the Shi'ite majority. The country that Americans had set out to democratize had, on closer inspection, voted to break apart. A spiral of tit-for-tat massacres in ethnically mixed Baghdad and the surrounding provinces ensured that the disintegration would happen in the bloodiest possible way. By the summer of 2006, despite the successful formation of a democratically elected government in Baghdad, Iraqis were dying at a rate of more than 100 a day.

Afghanistan also turned out to be harder to control than to conquer. In the summer of 2006, fresh contingents of U.S. and British troops had to be deployed to reassert the authority of the democratic government in Kabul over outlying areas like Helmand. Whereas in Iraq the capital city was the main conflict zone, in Afghanistan the capital city was the only place under any kind of control.

JOHN KOSTENY FOR TIME

The result was that by the time of the fifth anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, the U.S. military was distinctly overstretched. To maintain manpower levels, the Army was forced to increase its maximum enlistment age from 35 to 42. The Commander in Chief insisted that the U.S. would not withdraw from Iraq until its mission—the establishment of a stable democracy—was completed. But it seemed increasingly likely that when Americans finally went home, there would be no Iraq left to withdraw from—just three warring mini-states. As they bade farewell to the Green Zone, some Americans remembered the evacuation of Saigon in 1975, a generation earlier, which had sounded the death knell for South Vietnam.

Iraq's disintegration was the harbinger of a wider regional meltdown. The irony was that terrorism thrived more readily in the new Middle Eastern democracies than in the bad old dictatorships. It was no coincidence that, outside Iraq, the terrorist organizations causing the most trouble in the region were operating out of southern Lebanon and the Israeli-occupied Palestinian territories of Gaza and the West Bank. In all those places, elections had been held. Yet those who won them—Hizbullah in Lebanon and Hamas in the occupied territories—were historically terrorist organizations.

Worse, by breaking up Iraq, the U.S. had unwittingly handed a belated victory in the earlier Iran-Iraq war to the fundamentalist regime in Tehran. No state stood to gain more from democracy in Iraq, since the country's Shi'ite majority felt close ties of kinship to Iran. And no state in the region was more explicitly committed to the destruction of America's ally Israel.

The decision of Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to press ahead with Iran's secret nuclear-weapons program confronted the U.S. with an agonizing strategic dilemma. Iran made no secret of the fact that it was supplying Hizbullah with the missiles that rained down on Israel in the summer of 2006. Iran was also hell-bent on acquiring weapons of mass destruction. Yet the essentially unilateral action that had been used against Iraq in 2003 was no longer possible against Iran. A U.S. Administration that had once confidently bypassed the U.N. found it had no option but to turn to the U.N. Security Council in the hope that international pressure could disarm Hizbullah and keep Iran from going nuclear. The colossus that once bestrode the globe seemed to be stuck in the Middle Eastern sands—and unable to prevent the seemingly inevitable confrontation between Iran and Israel.

### III

#### ENEMIES WITHIN

IN THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S FINAL YEARS, ITS REPUTATION touched bottom. Many Americans complained that they had the wrong President. For a time, Bush's approval ratings sank below Richard Nixon's and Jimmy Carter's worst.

Yet history has been a kinder judge of Bush's presidency. Although many analysts had predicted that terrorists would strike again on U.S. soil within five years, there was no sequel to 9/11 on Bush's watch. It was just his bad luck that success in counterterrorism grabbed few headlines, since plots stifled at conception are nonevents in news terms. Moreover, the key point of his national-security strategy turned out to be correct. It was just that pre-emption had been used against Iraq when it should have been saved for Iran.

Would another President have done better? That was the question posed by Christopher Hitchens in his best-selling biog-



raphy *Bush: A Study in Greatness*, published in 2011, on the 10th anniversary of 9/11. Hitchens argued convincingly that neither Al Gore nor John Kerry would have been more successful than Bush in defusing the jihadist threat. "We have to get back to the place we were, where terrorists are not the focus of our lives but they're a nuisance," Kerry said in an interview in 2004, drawing a parallel with the containment of prostitution, illegal gambling and organized crime. But Islamist terrorism was a much more imminent threat than climate change (Gore's bugaboo) and a much more serious threat than illegal gambling. In the wake of 9/11, defeating the terrorists had, to be America's No. 1 priority. Bush understood this. Had it not been for the Iraq debacle, he would be remembered as the Avenger of 9/11.

Yet not even Bush's defenders could explain away the fatal flaw in the U.S.'s post-9/11 strategy. In his State of the Union address in January 2002, less than five months after the terrorists had struck, Bush directed his fire against what he called an "axis of evil"—Iran, Iraq and North Korea—which he accused of sponsoring terrorism and "seeking weapons of mass destruction." Yet not one of those countries had been directly implicated in the 9/11 attacks.

In fact, nearly all the terrorists originated in countries that were closely allied or at least friendly with the U.S. Fifteen of the 19 identified hijackers were from Saudi Arabia, two were from the United Arab Emirates, one was from Lebanon, and the last was from Egypt. Moreover, they had drawn up their murderous plans not in the Middle East but in Europe and the U.S. itself—right at the heart of Western democracies. All the terrorists had been in the U.S. for months before 9/11, entering the country legally, traveling widely and taking flying lessons. They had obtained driver's licenses, rented apartments, opened bank accounts, made airline reservations online and even got speeding tickets.

Of course, much was done after 9/11—or, at least, much money was spent—to improve America's homeland security. Airline passengers said goodbye to their nail scissors. After 2006 they said goodbye to their hair gel. They got used to having their luggage searched and their bodies frisked. Western intelligence agencies stepped up their efforts to monitor and penetrate terrorist networks. And there were some major successes. In June 2006 Canadian police arrested suspected terrorists who had about 3 tons of ammonium nitrate in their possession. Two months later, British authorities were able to announce the disruption of a plot to blow up multiple transatlantic flights—which would have caused, in the words of the deputy commissioner of London's Metropolitan Police, "mass murder on an unimaginable scale."

Yet the terrorists also had their bloody successes, in Madrid in March 2004 and London in July 2005. What was particularly disturbing was the social background of those responsible for the atrocities—the successful and the foiled alike. Some of those responsible for bombing the London Underground, for example, were British born. Shehzad Tanweer grew up in Leeds and was a keen cricketer. His father owned a fish-and-

chips shop. And it was not only the sons of prosperous immigrants who were being attracted to terrorism. Two of those arrested for their suspected role in the Heathrow bomb plot were Muslim converts. One of them was the son of a deceased Conservative Party employee with an impeccably British double-barreled surname, Stewart-Whyte.

The U.S. did not have an effective strategy for dealing with the penetration of Western Europe by radical Islamism. On the contrary, differences over policy in the Middle East had succeeded in driving a wedge between the U.S. and the most important continental European countries, Germany and France. British Prime Minister Tony Blair was unwavering in his support of U.S. strategy, but the British public came to regard Blair as an American poodle, and his Conservative successor David Cameron was far cooler toward Washington.

It was one of the great ironies of the war on terrorism that just five years after 9/11, many counterterrorism experts were convinced that the most likely source of another big attack on the U.S. was not the axis of evil but conceivably America's closest ally, Britain.

## IV

### THE GREAT ASIAN DEPRESSION

HAD ANOTHER TERRORIST ATTACK—OR AN IRAN-ISRAEL WAR—happened sooner, it might have made the difference in the 2008 presidential election. After all, a large part of John McCain's appeal as a presidential candidate was his—and his family's—distinguished record of military service. Many Republicans bitterly regretted that McCain had not been their candidate eight years before. "He might have been the greatest war leader we never had," his campaign manager said on Nov. 3, 2008, after McCain conceded defeat to Mark Warner, the former Governor of Virginia.

The Democratic candidate owed his victory, above all, to the return of the economy to the top of the political agenda. To most Americans, the key issue in 2008 was—as it had been when another Southern Democrat won the presidency 16 years previously—"the economy, stupid." Some experts argued that the economy had never stopped mattering. Bush won in 2000 because the dotcom bubble burst that year. He won in 2004 because his tax cuts and the easy-money policies of Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan had generated a sustained economic recovery. Unfortunately for the Republicans, that recovery could not last forever.

The economic slowdown of late 2006 was part of a wider crisis of globalization, as energy prices soared and the drive toward free trade lost momentum. With oil stock above \$70 per bbl. and the Doha round of trade negotiations defunct, growth was bound to slacken. But what made matters unexpectedly worse was miscalculations by the world's central bankers.

Greenspan's successor at the Fed, the academic economist Ben Bernanke, was in a quandary. Should he worry about growth or inflation? Inflation was creeping up, and yet the



2006 Protests over religious cartoons in France and elsewhere reflected rising Islamic fervor in Western Europe



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Talk with your doctor first. Make sure you are healthy enough to have sex. If you have chest pain, nausea, or other discomforts during sex, seek medical help right away.

Although erections lasting for more than four hours may occur rarely with all ED treatments in this drug class, to avoid long-term injuries, it is important to seek immediate medical help.

In rare instances, men taking PDE5 inhibitors (oral erectile dysfunction medicines, including VIAGRA) reported a sudden decrease or loss of vision. It is not possible to determine whether these events are related directly to these medicines or to other factors. If you experience sudden decrease or loss of vision, stop taking PDE5 inhibitors, including VIAGRA, and call a doctor right away.

The most common side effects of VIAGRA are headache, facial flushing, and upset stomach. Less common are bluish or blurred vision, or being sensitive to light. These may occur for a brief time. Remember to protect yourself and your partner from sexually transmitted diseases.

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This summary contains important information about VIAGRA®. It is not meant to take the place of your doctor's instructions. Read this information carefully before you start taking VIAGRA. Ask your doctor or pharmacist if you do not understand any of this information or if you want to know more about VIAGRA.

This medicine can help many men when it is used as prescribed by their doctors. However, VIAGRA is not for everyone. It is intended for use only by men who have a condition called erectile dysfunction. VIAGRA must never be used by men who are taking medicines that contain nitrates at any time. This includes nitroglycerin. If you take VIAGRA with any nitrate medicine your blood pressure could suddenly drop to an unsafe or life threatening level.

## • What Is VIAGRA?

VIAGRA is a pill used to treat erectile dysfunction (impotence) in men. It can help many men who have erectile dysfunction get and keep an erection when they become sexually excited (stimulated).

You will not get an erection just by taking this medicine. VIAGRA helps a man with erectile dysfunction get an erection only when he is sexually excited.

## • How Sex Affects the Body

When a man is sexually aroused, the penis rapidly fills with more blood than usual. The penis then expands and hardens. This is called an erection. After the man is done having sex, this extra blood flows out of the penis back into the body. The erection goes away. If an erection lasts for a long time (more than 6 hours), it can permanently damage your penis. You should call a doctor immediately if you ever have a prolonged erection that lasts more than 4 hours.

Some conditions and medicines interfere with this natural erection process. The penis cannot fill with enough blood. The man cannot have an erection. This is called erectile dysfunction if it becomes a frequent problem.

During sex, your heart works harder. Therefore sexual activity may not be advisable for people who have heart problems. Before you start any treatment for erectile dysfunction, ask your doctor if your heart is healthy enough to handle the extra strain of having sex. If you have chest pains, dizziness or nausea during sex, stop having sex and immediately tell your doctor you have had this problem.

## • How VIAGRA Works

VIAGRA enables many men with erectile dysfunction to respond to sexual stimulation. When a man is sexually excited, VIAGRA helps the penis fill with enough blood to cause an erection. After sex is over, the erection goes away.

## • VIAGRA Is Not for Everyone

As noted above (*How Sex Affects the Body*), ask your doctor if your heart is healthy enough for sexual activity.

If you take any medicines that contain nitrates – either regularly or as needed – you should never take VIAGRA. If you take VIAGRA with any nitrate medicine or recreational drug containing nitrates, your blood pressure could suddenly drop to an unsafe level. You could get dizzy, faint, or even have a heart attack or stroke. Nitrates are found in many prescription medicines that are used to treat angina (chest pain due to heart disease) such as:

- Nitroglycerin (sprays, ointments, skin patches or pastes, and tablets that are swallowed or dissolved in the mouth)
- Isosorbide mononitrate and isosorbide dinitrate (tablets that are swallowed, chewed, or dissolved in the mouth)

Nitrates are also found in recreational drugs such as amyl nitrate or nitrite ("poppers"). If you are not sure if any of your medicines contain nitrates, or if you do not understand what nitrates are, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

VIAGRA is only for patients with erectile dysfunction. VIAGRA is not for newborns, children, or women. Do not let anyone else take your VIAGRA. VIAGRA must be used only under a doctor's supervision.

## • What VIAGRA Does Not Do

- VIAGRA does not cure erectile dysfunction. It is a treatment for erectile dysfunction.
- VIAGRA does not protect you or your partner from getting sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV—the virus that causes AIDS.
- VIAGRA is not a hormone or an aphrodisiac.

## • What To Tell Your Doctor Before You Begin VIAGRA

Only your doctor can decide if VIAGRA is right for you. VIAGRA can cause mild, temporary lowering of your blood pressure. You will need to have a thorough medical exam to diagnose your erectile dysfunction and to find out if you can safely take VIAGRA alone or with your other medicines. Your doctor should determine if your heart is healthy enough to handle the extra strain of having sex.

Be sure to tell your doctor if you:

- Have ever had any heart problems (e.g., angina, chest pain, heart failure, irregular heart beats, heart attack or narrowing of the aortic valve)
- Have ever had a stroke
- Have low or high blood pressure
- Have ever had severe vision loss
- Have ever had an inherited eye disease called retinitis pigmentosa
- Have ever had any kidney problems
- Have ever had any liver problems
- Have ever had any blood problems, including sickle cell anemia or leukemia
- Are allergic to sildenafil or any of the other ingredients of VIAGRA tablets

- Have a deformed penis, Peyronie's disease, or ever had an erection that lasted more than 4 hours
- Have stomach ulcers or any types of bleeding problems
- Are taking any other medicines

## • VIAGRA and Other Medicines

Some medicines can change the way VIAGRA works. Tell your doctor about any medicines you are taking. Do not start or stop taking any medicines before checking with your doctor or pharmacist. This includes prescription and nonprescription medicines or remedies.

- Remember, VIAGRA should never be used with medicines that contain nitrates (see VIAGRA is Not for Everyone).
- If you are taking medicines called alpha-blockers for the treatment of high blood pressure or prostate problems, your blood pressure could suddenly drop. You could get dizzy or faint.
- If you are taking a protease inhibitor, your body may be adjusted (please see *Finding the Right Dose for You*).
- VIAGRA should not be used with any other medical treatments that cause erections. These treatments include pills, medicines that are injected or inserted into the penis, implants or vacuum pumps.
- Finding the Right Dose for You  
VIAGRA comes in different doses (25 mg, 50 mg and 100 mg). If you do not get the results you expect, talk with your doctor. You and your doctor can determine the dose that works best for you.
- Do not take more VIAGRA than your doctor prescribes.
- If you think you need a larger dose of VIAGRA, check with your doctor.
- VIAGRA should not be taken more than once a day.

Your doctor may prescribe a lower dose of VIAGRA in certain circumstances. For example:

- If you are older than age 65, or have serious liver or kidney problems, your doctor may start you at the lowest dose (25 mg) of VIAGRA.
- If you are taking protease inhibitors, such as for the treatment of HIV, your doctor may recommend a 25 mg dose and may limit you to a maximum single dose of 25 mg of VIAGRA in a 48 hour period.
- If you have prostate problems or high blood pressure for which you take medicines called alpha-blockers, your doctor may start you on a lower dose of VIAGRA.

## • How To Take VIAGRA

Take VIAGRA about 1 hour before you plan to have sex. Beginning at about 30 minutes and up to 4 hours, VIAGRA can help you get an erection if you are sexually excited. If you take VIAGRA after a high-fat meal (such as a cheeseburger and french fries), the medicine may take a little longer to start working. VIAGRA can help you get an erection when you are sexually excited. You will not get an erection just by taking the pill.

## • Possible Side Effects

Like all medicines, VIAGRA can cause some side effects. These effects are usually mild to moderate and usually don't last longer than a few hours. Some of these side effects are more likely to occur with higher doses. The most common side effects of VIAGRA are headache, flushing of the face and upset stomach. Less common side effects that may occur are temporary changes in color vision (such as trouble telling the difference between blue and green objects or having a blue color tinge to them), eyes being more sensitive to light, or blurred vision.

In rare instances, men taking PDE5 inhibitors (oral erectile dysfunction medicines, including VIAGRA) reported a sudden decrease or loss of vision in one or both eyes. It is not possible to determine whether these effects are related directly to these medicines, to other factors such as high blood pressure or diabetes, or to a combination of these. If you experience sudden decrease or loss of vision, stop taking PDE5 inhibitors, including VIAGRA, and call a doctor right away.

In rare instances, men have reported an erection that lasts many hours. You should call a doctor immediately if you ever have an erection that lasts more than 4 hours. If not treated right away, permanent damage to your penis could occur (see *How Sex Affects the Body*).

Heart attack, stroke, irregular heart beats, and death have been reported rarely in men taking VIAGRA. Most, but not all, of these men had heart problems before taking this medicine. It is not possible to determine whether these events were directly related to VIAGRA.

VIAGRA may cause other side effects besides those listed on this sheet. If you want more information or develop any side effects or symptoms you are concerned about, call your doctor.

## • Accidental Overdose

In case of accidental overdose, call your doctor right away.

## • Storing VIAGRA

Keep VIAGRA out of the reach of children. Keep VIAGRA in its original container. Store at 25°C (77°F); excursions permitted to 15-30°C (59-86°F) [see USP Controlled Room Temperature].

## • For More Information on VIAGRA

VIAGRA is a prescription medicine used to treat erectile dysfunction. Only your doctor can decide if it is right for you. This sheet is only a summary. If you have any questions or want more information about VIAGRA, talk with your doctor or pharmacist, visit [www.viagra.com](http://www.viagra.com), or call 1-888-VIAGRA.

Discontinued by



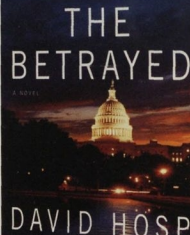
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combination of higher interest rates and higher fuel prices threatened to depress consumption. Bernanke's apparent indecision unnerved the financial markets. By the time the slide in real estate prices signaled the onset of a full-blown recession, the Fed was badly behind the curve.

That the U.S. economy should slow was perhaps inevitable. In 2005 there were just 10.7 million Americans age 80 and older. By 2030 there were nearly 18 million—1 out of every 20 people. Continued advances in medical science meant that more and more people were living as long as a century—good news for the likes of media mogul Rupert Murdoch, who celebrated his 100th birthday in 2031. But the rising proportion of the population in retirement imposed an ever higher tax burden on those still working. It also placed a sustained strain on the U.S. balance of payments, as the country consistently imported more than it exported, financing the difference by selling securities to foreigners.

In the first decade of the 21st century, that arrangement worked well. The booming Chinese economy seemed ready to absorb any amount of U.S. debt, provided that America kept its market open to China's exports. High savings rates and low wages in China complemented the high indebtedness and high living standards enjoyed by Florida's elderly.

However, that Sino-American interdependence left the U.S. vulnerable to a crisis in China. When it came, the Chinese stock-market crash sent a shock wave through the entire Asian economy. Some blamed the powerful new Middle Eastern Shari'a-law banks, which had terminated their zero-interest-rate facilities for Shanghai hedge funds. Others saw the sinister hand of the Russian-controlled OPEC (Organization of Gas Exporting Countries), which had stunned energy importers in Asia by trebling natural gas prices. Either way, the impact was disastrous. Output collapsed. Unemployment soared. The Chinese banking system, which had never been entirely free of corruption, imploded.

A few hard-nosed foreign policy realists insisted that China's collapse was to the U.S.'s advantage. Some veteran cold warriors looked forward to the demise of the last communist regime in the world. To most Chinese, however, free elections were just a way for the party to pass the buck for its economic failure. To most Americans, the China crisis was just an addition to their existing economic woes, as Chinese investors frantically unloaded their U.S. assets.

## V

### THE NEXT AMERICAN CENTURY

IN 1941 THE PUBLISHER OF THIS MAGAZINE CALLED ON READERS to help make the postwar era "the first great American Century." There had certainly been an American Half-Century, culminating in the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. But the post-cold war phase of hyperpower could not last forever. In the years after 9/11, the U.S.—though still the world's dominant nation—faced multiple and growing challenges.

They included not just the continued activity of the Islamic terrorist network. In the turbulent years after 9/11, new powers arose to challenge American might. Iran—thanks to raw demography, the reduction of U.S. troops in Iraq and advances in

its nuclear program—emerged as the dominant power in the Middle East. Despite the trauma of financial crisis and depression, China became the new hegemon of East Asia. And Russia used its oil riches and nuclear leverage to restore its dominance over Eastern Europe, rolling back the frontier of the European Union. Although all adopted the outward forms of democracy, none of those three powers had much interest in advancing individual liberty and the rule of law, without which elections are a sham. All three had an interest in weakening America.

With the rise of these rivals came one benefit: as time passed, the once hated Great Satan was no longer everybody's favorite whipping boy. Since the U.S. presence in the Middle East had wound down after 2008, it was no longer obvious why Islamist terrorists would expend their energies attacking American cities. That was why, by the 30th anniversary of 9/11, many younger Americans looked back on that event as a strange aberration.

Yet reports of America's decline proved to be premature. In 2012 President Warner's successor surprised the foes of the U.S. with a bold reinvention of America. The reform of Medicare and Social Security, combined with a radical overhaul of the federal tax system, had quite dramatic consequences. Growth surged. So did productivity.

Americans stopped investing exclusively in real estate and got back to the serious business of technological innovation. Congress passed a low-cost, universal health-care system and a new federal sales tax, which al-

lowed a drastic reduction in income tax without the huge deficits that had plagued the Bush years.

In old-technology terms, it was true, things had not turned out well for the U.S. after 9/11. The project to democratize the Middle East ended poorly. The U.S. lost its influence over the world's most oil-rich region. Terrorist networks thrived in Europe. Iran, China and Russia formed a new anti-American trio. Yet the new technology of the 2010s and '20s did much to negate those threats.

The adoption of fuel-cell engines by the U.S. automobile industry, combined with a new generation of ultrasafe nuclear power plants, effectively ended America's century-long addiction to oil. The application of nanotechnology to homeland security allowed 24/7 surveillance of Islamist suspects by minuscule drones and invisible implants.

And so the Great War of Democracy ended—not with the catastrophic bang that so many had feared but with the imperceptible hum of a technological revolution. "We tried to give the Muslim world a political upgrade," said U.S. President Jimmy McCain, son of the former Senator and a veteran of the Iraq war, on the 30th anniversary of the 9/11 attacks. "I guess we failed. So instead we gave ourselves an economic upgrade. I guess we succeeded."

The war that began on Sept. 11, 2001, is now over. Back in 2006 there were those who feared that the U.S. might lose that war. Today, 25 years later, we can see they were wrong. The American Century is alive—and kicking. ■



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# IT'S NOT OVER YET

By Max Boot

IRAQ IS SLIPPING DEEPER INTO THE BLOOD-RED WATERS of civil strife. The Taliban is resurgent in Afghanistan. Hizballah is crowing in the wake of Israel's inconclusive attacks. Hamas runs the Palestinian Authority. Iran is drawing closer to acquiring nuclear weapons. Osama bin Laden and his top deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri, continue to taunt the West with messages of defiance, as jihadist cells from London to Lahore plot fresh attacks.

Given such grim news five years after 9/11, it is all too easy to conclude that the Bush doctrine is a bust—that, at best, it has been ineffectual and that, at worst, it has actually exacerbated the woes it was meant to address. In truth, it is far too soon to judge the results of the President's grand strategy of transforming the Middle East, which is still in its early stages and which has never been pursued as ardently as his more grandiose rhetoric might suggest.

For all his sweeping talk of "ending tyranny in our world," Bush has been circumspect in implementing his freedom agenda. He got off to a good start with the overthrow of the Taliban and Saddam Hussein, which liberated more than 50 million people from two of the most oppressive regimes in the world. Since then, unfortunately, much of the momentum for democratic change has been lost, in large part because of the increasing chaos in Iraq. And yet it would be a mistake to become overly dismissive of the long-term prospects for democracy in the Middle East. That would be like writing off democracy in Europe because of the failure of the revolutions of 1848. It's true that the governments that purport to rule in Baghdad, Gaza City and Beirut cannot control the unelected militias that rampage through the streets. But that should be a sign that five years after 9/11, the problem in the Arab world today remains not too much democracy but too little.

What Bush realized after 9/11 is that unless we can change the conditions that give rise to terrorism, new recruits will simply fill the shoes of those we eliminate. And while radicalization can occur in almost any context, it is easier to defuse the consequences in an open society—one where grievances can be addressed through the political process rather than through suicide bombings. Democracy is no cure-all, but the record suggests that liberal, representative regimes are less likely to sponsor terrorism or wage aggressive wars than their more illiberal neighbors.

*Boot is the author of the forthcoming War Made New: Technology, Warfare, and the Course of History, 1500 to Today*

Jihadist terrorists look for support primarily to Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Syria—not a democracy among them. For all the carping about Bush's policies, no one has really offered a credible alternative to liberalization as a cure for what ails the region. It hardly seems tenable to go back to the pre-9/11 paradigm of wholeheartedly supporting "friendly" dictators like Egypt's Hosni Mubarak and the Saudi royal family. If our support for the Shah of Iran in the 1970s or Yasser Arafat in the '90s has taught us anything, it should be that secular strongmen cannot keep the lid on forever. Either we push for change now or we risk a fundamentalist explosion later on.

We shouldn't expect results overnight. Bush has always spoken of the war on terrorism as an intergenerational challenge akin to the cold war.

Don't forget, many despaired about the West's prospects in that earlier conflict. In the late 1940s, communism appeared to be on the ascent, just as Islamism is today. Our enemies at the time—China and the Soviet Union—were far more powerful than al-Qaeda and Iran are today. When Whittaker Chambers publicly broke with the Communist Party in 1948, he declared, "I know that I am leaving the winning side for the losing side."

Yet the West ultimately prevailed. Just as the Soviet empire fell apart with shocking suddenness after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, so today's malignant status quo in the Middle East could crumble more quickly than anyone expects. All that may be required is a functioning model of a democracy in a major Middle Eastern country. Bush hoped that Iraq would set that example, and it still may. Or perhaps the spark will come from a post-theocratic Iran. Or a post-Mubarak Egypt. The people of the region are hungry for change; dissatisfaction is palpable in the streets from Cairo to Tehran. The Muslim masses just need to be shown that it's possible to set themselves free.

Our ultimate victory in this struggle is virtually foreordained. Of all the possible alternatives, only liberal democracy has shown itself able to satisfy the deepest yearnings of human nature. The real question is not the outcome but how many people on both sides will die in the intervening decades. As in earlier struggles against communism and fascism, vigorous American leadership can lower the body count and hasten freedom's triumph. A retreat into isolationism à la the 1930s or '70s or into the bad old ideas that governed U.S. policy in the Middle East prior to 9/11 will prolong the suffering and make a major conflagration more likely, not less, in the future. ■



Bush addresses the troops at California's Camp Pendleton in 2004

CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—AP/WIDE WORLD



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# WHY THE 9/11 CONSPIRACIES WON'T GO AWAY

Turns out, we need grand theories to make sense of grand events, or the world just seems too random



By Lev Grossman

**T**AKE A LOOK, IF YOU CAN STAND IT, AT VIDEO FOOTAGE OF the World Trade Center collapsing. Your eye will naturally jump to the top of the screen, where huge fountains of dark debris erupt out of the falling towers. But fight your natural instincts. Look farther down, at the stories that haven't collapsed yet.

In almost every clip you'll see little puffs of dust spurting out from the sides of the towers. There are two competing explanations for these puffs of dust: 1) the force of the collapsing upper floors raised the air pressure in the lower ones so dramatically that it actually blew out the windows. And 2) the towers did not collapse from the impact of two Boeing 767s and the ensuing fires. They were destroyed in a planned, controlled demolition. The dust puffs you see on film are the detonations of explosives planted there before the attacks.

People who believe the second explanation live in a very different world from those who believe the first. In world No. 2, al-

Qaeda is not responsible for the destruction of the World Trade Center. The U.S. government is. The Pentagon was not hit by a commercial jet; it was hit by a cruise missile. United Flight 93 did not crash after its occupants rushed the cockpit; it was deliberately taken down by a U.S. Air Force fighter. The entire catastrophe was planned and executed by federal officials in order to provide the U.S. with a pretext for going to war in the Middle East and, by extension, as a means of consolidating and extending the power of the Bush Administration.

The population of world No. 2 is larger than you might think. A Scripps-Howard poll of 1,010 adults last month found that 36% of Americans consider it "very likely" or "somewhat likely" that government officials either allowed the attacks to be carried out or carried out the attacks themselves. Thirty-six percent adds up to a lot of people. This is not a fringe phenomenon. It is a mainstream political reality.

Although the 9/11 Truth Movement, as many conspiracy believers refer to their passion, has been largely ignored by the mainstream media, it is flourishing on the Internet. One of



the most popular conspiracy videos online is *Loose Change*, a 90-min. blizzard of statistics, photographs, documents, eyewitness accounts and expert testimony set to a trippy hip-hop backbeat. It's designed to pick apart, point by point, the conventional narrative of what happened on Sept. 11, 2001.

For all its amateur production values—it was created by a pair of industrious twentysomethings using a laptop, pizza money and footage scavenged from the Internet—*Loose Change* is a compelling experience. Take the section about the attack on the Pentagon. As the film points out—and this is a tent-pole issue among 9/11 conspiracists—the crash site doesn't look right. There's not enough damage. The hole smashed in the Pentagon's outer wall was 75 ft. wide, but a Boeing 757 has a 124-ft. wingspan. Why wasn't the hole wider? Why does it look so neat?

Experts will tell you that the hole was punched by the plane's fuselage, not its wings, which sheared off on impact. But then what happened to the wings? And the tail and the engines? Images

## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

A lack of identifiable plane wreckage, among other anomalies, has helped fuel skepticism about the official explanation of Sept. 11 damage to the Pentagon, left. Here's more on that debate and a few other Internet-fueled conspiracy theories that still thrive

## THE TOWERS' COLLAPSE

■ **THE CLAIM:** Explosives brought down the Twin Towers. Critics of the official explanation point to such clues as the pattern and timing of dust and debris blown out from the floors, the vertical fall of the towers and two seismic tremors that coincided with their collapse.

■ **THE FACTS:** The impact of the Boeing 767s damaged support columns and steel floor trusses, causing the inward collapse of perimeter columns, which pulled floors straight down. A misquote of a demolition expert propagated the explosives theory. Seismic spikes, caused by debris hitting the ground, were recorded 10 sec. after each tower started to fall.

## THE MYSTERY OF WTC 7

■ **THE CLAIM:** WTC 7 also contained explosives since fire alone has never felled a modern skyscraper. Authorities have delayed releasing a WTC 7 report to hide the truth.

■ **THE FACTS:** A few critical elements—including damage on the south face, unusual structural design to accommodate a Con Edison substation, extreme weight bearing on floors, and long-burning diesel fuel leaked from large emergency generators—compromised WTC 7's structural integrity. The draft report is expected in early 2007.

## HOLES IN THE PENTAGON

■ **THE CLAIM:** A missile or smaller plane—not Flight 77—struck the Pentagon because the size of two holes (in Ring C and Ring E) were too small to have been made by a 757, which has a wingspan of nearly 125 ft.

■ **THE FACTS:** Witnesses saw the 757 hit the Pentagon. The plane lost its wings when one hit the ground and the other slammed into the building's west wall before the Boeing's fuselage tore a 75-ft. hole in the outermost Ring E. The jet's landing gear caused the 12-ft. hole in inner Ring C. But to question Flight 77's demise is to question the fate of the 64 people onboard; the remains of all but one have been identified.

## SCRAMBLE

■ **THE CLAIM:** Fighter jets within range of the hijacked planes must have been under orders to stand down, since none from the 28 Air Force bases in the area was scrambled.

■ **THE FACTS:** There are seven alert sites on the U.S. mainland, each with two active aircraft, that can scramble fighters. The 9/11 commission concluded that F-15s were scrambled within 6 min. of notification of the hijacking of Boston's Flight 11. Because hijackers had dismantled the planes' transponders, the F-15s could not identify the endangered aircraft. Details of the intercepts' performance are now being questioned. —By Coco Masters





of the crash site show hardly any of the wreckage you would expect from a building that's been rammed by a commercial jet. The lawn, where the plane supposedly dragged a wing on approach, is practically pristine. The plane supposedly clipped five lampposts on its way in, but the lampposts in question show surprisingly little damage. And could Hani Hanjour, the man supposedly at the controls, have executed the maneuvers that the plane performed? He failed a flight test just weeks before the attack. And Pentagon employees reported smelling cordite after the hit, the kind of high explosive a cruise missile carries.

There's something empowering about just exploring such questions. *Loose Change* appeals to the viewer's common sense: it tells you to forget the official explanations and the expert testimony, and trust your eyes and your brain instead. It implies that the world can be grasped by laymen without any help or interference from the talking heads. Watching *Loose Change*, you feel as if you are participating in the great American tradition of self-reliance and nonconformist, anti-authoritarian dissent. You're fighting the power. You're thinking different. (Conspiracyists call people who follow the government line "sheeple.") "The goal of the movie was just really to get out there and show that there are alternate stories to what the mainstream media and the government will tell you," says Corey Rowe, 23, who produced the movie. "That 19 hijackers are going to completely bypass security and crash four commercial airliners in a span of two hours, with no interruption from the military forces, in the most guarded airspace in the United States and the world? That to me is a conspiracy theory."

It's also not much of a story line. As a narrative, the official story that the government—echoed by the media—is trying to sell shows an almost embarrassing lack of novelistic flair, whereas the story the conspiracy theorists tell about what happened on Sept. 11 is positively Dan Brownesque in its rich, exciting complexity. Rowe and his collaborator, Dylan Avery, 22, actually started writing *Loose Change* as a fictional screenplay—"loosely based around us discovering that 9/11 was an inside job." Rowe says—before they became convinced that the evidence of conspiracy was overwhelming. The Administration is certainly playing its part in the drama with admirable zeal. If we went to war to root out fictional weapons of mass destruction, is staging a fictional terrorist attack such a stretch?

But there's a big problem with *Loose Change* and with most other conspiracy theories. The more you think about them, the more you realize how much they depend on circumstantial evidence, facts without analysis or documentation, quotes taken out of context and the scattered testimony of traumatized eyewitnesses. (For what it's worth, the National Institute of Standards and Technology has published a fact sheet responding to

## TIME/DISCOVERY CHANNEL POLL

■ Do you think the Bush Administration is using the threat of terrorism or the terrorism alerts for political reasons?



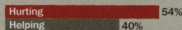
■ Do you think the Bush Administration has a clear and well-thought-out policy to deal with terrorism?



■ Do you think Saddam Hussein, the former Iraqi leader, was personally involved in the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center?



■ Do you believe the U.S.'s involvement in the war in Iraq is hurting or helping the war on terrorism?



This Time/Discovery Channel poll was conducted by telephone Aug. 22-24 among 1,002 adult Americans by SRBI Public Affairs. The data have been weighted to reflect the demographic composition of adult Americans. The margin of error is ±3 percentage points. "Don't know" responses have been omitted.

■ For more results from this poll, tune in to Ted Koppel's premiere on the Discovery Channel, Koppel on Discovery: The Price of Security, will air 8-11 p.m. E.T. on Sunday, Sept. 10.

some of the conspiracy theorists' ideas on its website, [www.nist.gov](http://www.nist.gov).) The theories prompt small, reasonable questions that demand answers that are just too large and unreasonable to swallow. Granted, the Pentagon crash site looks odd in photographs. But if the Pentagon was hit by a cruise missile, then what happened to American Airlines Flight 77? Where did all the real, documented people on it go? Assassinated? Relocated? What about eyewitnesses who saw a plane, not a missile? And what are the chances that an operation of such size—it would surely have involved hundreds of military and civilian personnel—could be carried out without a single leak? Without leaving behind a single piece of evidence hard enough to stand up to scrutiny in a court? People, the facts just aren't that slick. Nobody is.

There are psychological explanations for why conspiracy theories are so seductive. Academics who study them argue that they meet a basic human need: to have the magnitude of any given effect be balanced by the magnitude of the cause behind it. A world in which tiny causes can have huge consequences feels scary and unreliable. Therefore a grand disaster like Sept. 11 needs a grand conspiracy behind it. "We tend to associate major events—President or princess dying—with major causes," says Patrick Leman, a lecturer in psychology at Royal Holloway University of London, who has conducted studies on conspiracy belief. "If we think big events like a President being assassinated can happen at the hands of a minor individual, that points to the unpredictability and randomness of life and unsettles us."

In that sense, the idea that there is a malevolent controlling force orchestrating global events is, in a perverse way, comforting.

You would have thought the age of conspiracy theories might have declined with the rise of digital media. The assassination of President John F. Kennedy was a private, intimate affair compared with the attack on the World Trade Center, which was witnessed by millions of bystanders and television viewers and documented by hundreds of Zapruders. You would think there was enough footage and enough forensics to get us past the grassy knoll and the magic bullet, to create a consensus reality, a single version of the truth, a single world we can all live in together.

But there is no event so plain and clear that a determined human being can't find ambiguity in it. And as divisive as they are, conspiracy theories are part of the process by which Americans deal with traumatic public events like Sept. 11. Conspiracy theories form around them like scar tissue. In a curious way, they're an American form of national mourning. They'll be with us as long as we fear lone gunmen, and feel the pain of losses like the one we suffered on Sept. 11, and as long as the past, even the immediate past, is ultimately unknowable. That is to say, forever. ■





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## Peter Arkle

8/23/06

SOME THINGS  
I HEAR PEOPLE  
SAY—

This is it, huh?

Babe! Babe!  
Will you try  
to take a  
picture?

Of what?

Nice out. Yeah.

Obviously they don't want anybody in there.

V-131

All the names...

CLEAR BLUE SKY

← THE TOWERS OF  
THE WORLD  
FINANCIAL  
CENTER —→

...and you would look down,  
and there was the Statue  
of Liberty. Oh, you break my heart.

WARM SUN

LIGHTS

O.K. Shall we go?

I wish I could get a picture of that cross without that WALK sign there...

THE GROUND ZERO CROSS  
(FOUND STANDING IN  
THE RUBBLE)

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CONSTRUCTION NOISES,  
A HELICOPTER, BEEPS AND  
BUZZES FROM CAMERAS,  
CELL-PHONE RINGTONES  
AND AMAZING GRACE BEING  
PLAYED ON A FLUTE

SIGNS WARN PEOPLE NOT TO CLIMB, WRITE ON OR ATTACH THINGS TO THE FENCE. ALSO, "COORDINATED CONTINUOUS EXPRESSIVE ACTIVITY AS PART OF A GROUP OF 25 OR MORE" IS PROHIBITED WITHOUT A PERMIT.

MAN CARRYING A SUITCASE.  
HE DIGS IN IT, PULLS OUT  
A BIG CIGAR AND STANDS  
NEXT TO THE FENCE SUCKING  
ON IT, DEEP IN THOUGHT.

A CONSTRUCTION  
WORKER PAUSES

## SHOPPING

Take a look.  
Take a look:  
September  
the 11th photos

How much is it?

LITTLE STICKERS  
SAYING  
"AMPLIFY LOVE,  
DISSIPATE HATE"  
ARE STUCK IN  
VARIOUS PLACES.

APPROPRIATE  
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**GUM**

WOMAN DISTRIBUTING  
LEAFLETS PROMOTING  
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ATTRACTION \

PEOPLE ARE  
GENERALLY  
QUIET.

ONE OF MANY MAIL CARRIERS WHO PASS BY. THIS ONE, TALKING ON HER PHONE, SAYS, "I'm at ground zero."

*Peter Arkle is a freelance illustrator. He has lived in New York City for 10 years*







# The Terror Consigliere

Fran Townsend, White House top adviser on homeland security, is the kind of take-charge woman Bush likes

By DOUGLAS WALLER

**C**ALL IT THE FRAN TOWNSEND TREATMENT. ONCE IN 2004, when then Homeland Security Under Secretary Asa Hutchinson tried to beg off giving his department's view on raising the terrorism threat level to orange until he checked with his boss, Tom Ridge, Townsend cut him off. "I need to know now," snapped George W. Bush's top adviser for counterterrorism and homeland security. "The President will be calling, and I have to have an answer." When Representative Peter King, chairman of the House Homeland Security Committee, phoned Townsend earlier this year to complain that the Coast Guard was dragging its feet on sending him an officer as a temporary adviser, she "made some profane remark," he says, "and the next thing I knew the red tape was cut and the guy was sitting in our committee offices." With Bush, "Fran says exactly what's on her mind." Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice told TIME. "I've heard her say many times in meetings, 'No, Mr. President, that really isn't getting done.'"

That Bush would have an adviser as bare-knuckled as Frances Fragos Townsend, 44, isn't unusual, particularly for a portfolio as vital as counterterrorism. He detests it when aides waste his time clearing their throat before getting to the point, and he has always had an affinity for forceful women like Rice and communications guru Karen Hughes. Still, Townsend's rise to the President's inner circle is remarkable when you consider that she was a Justice Department confidante of Janet Reno's—which made her suspect among conservatives who still love to hate Bill Clinton's Attorney General—and that some counterterrorism professionals question her credentials for the job.

Bush, who relies on gut instinct as much as résumé for personnel decisions, likes having the blunt, 5-ft. former Mob prosecutor at his side. A powerful sign of the respect Bush's loyalty to Townsend commands—or perhaps an indication of lingering Administration defensiveness over her appointment—is that heavyweights like Rice and White House chief of staff Josh Bolten praised Townsend in phone calls to TIME arranged by her office. The President, says Bolten, "likes her competence,

her crispness and her ability to give him the straight scoop." Bush has entrusted her with, among other things, the task of implementing sweeping recommendations that a presidential commission made last year for reforming the intelligence community. And he named Townsend the head of a team that tracked last month's British arrests of London bomb-plot suspects. "My job is to focus on the threats and the things that are not resolved," says Townsend. "But you never deliver bad news without

the next sentence being what you're doing about it."

Townsend has always had a brassy streak. A working-class kid who grew up in Wantagh, N.Y., Townsend at age 11 wrote letters to her priest, bishop, Cardinal and finally the Vatican asking to be an altar boy. Turned down, she tried to sneak into Mass in a borrowed robe before being caught by her priest. After law school, she prosecuted Gambino crime-family members for the U.S. Attorney's office in New York City under Rudolph Giuliani. She then moved to the Justice Department's Washington offices in 1993 and rose quickly to become a close Reno adviser on counterintelligence and wiretap cases. When John Ashcroft arrived in early 2001, Townsend left Justice and ended up overseeing the U.S. Coast Guard's small intelligence unit. It was a backwater job until 9/11. When the National Security Council needed quick help in staffing counterterrorism tasks, it became the "go-to organization," says retired General John A. Gordon, Bush's counterterrorism adviser from 2002 to 2003. When Gordon left that post to head the White House Homeland Security Council in 2003, he persuaded Rice, then National Security Adviser, to make Townsend his replacement.

To many counterterrorism purists, Townsend was a questionable choice because she had no operational experience. Conservatives warned she could prove to be an "enemy within," as columnist Robert Novak put it, although Townsend says she's been a Republican since age 18. But Bush stood by her and a year later added to her portfolio Gordon's post as presidential homeland-security adviser. In that role, she led the internal inquiry into the Administration's response to Hurricane Katrina, prompting Democrats to complain of a conflict of interest. Her report last February acknowledged flawed planning and recommended 125 fixes but didn't blame Bush or top officials.

The criticisms haven't made Townsend shrink from the light. She sticks close to the boss. When Bush posed for photographers at the National Counterterrorism Center in McLean, Va., last month, Townsend stood behind him along with bigger fish John Negroponte, director of national intelligence, and Michael Hayden, CIA chief. While many officials in this White House shun media interviews, she plainly enjoys them. And why not? She's got the job, and without the borrowed robe. ■

FRAGOS TOWNSEND: MICHAEL O'NEILL FOR TIME



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John Doerr

# California's Global-Warming Solution

How one state is dealing with a problem the Federal Government won't face

**A**FTER DINNER ONE RECENT NIGHT, FAMILY AND FRIENDS were discussing their views on global warming. With clarity and wisdom beyond her 15 years, my daughter said, "Dad, I'm scared and angry. Your generation created this problem. What are you going to do to fix it?"

California's legislators rolled up their sleeves last week and got started on an answer, passing the most important legislation of the year, possibly of the decade: the California Global Warming Solutions Act. With any luck, its cooling effects will be felt for the rest of the century—and beyond.

Though confronted with a growing climate crisis, the nation has struggled to find scalable, society-wide solutions—and the political will to enact them. When seven Northeastern states capped emissions of greenhouse gases by utilities last month, we took a giant step forward. But until last week, no American state had been bold enough to approve legislation that caps emissions across all the meaningful economic sectors. California—where 1 of 8 Americans lives—will now require major industrial producers of such gases to reduce emissions 25% by 2020. That means cutting the annual release of carbon dioxide in the state by 174 million metric tons. It takes a forest twice the size of New Jersey to process that much of the heat-trapping gas.

How will we achieve that? By letting free markets discover the best solutions and invest in them. Create a market for carbon removal, and set limits on companies' allowance for carbon emissions. Companies that pollute less get credits and can then sell those credits to other companies, who buy them to offset their excess carbon. A similar market system for sulfur dioxide is already in place to cut sulfur pollution in half by 2010, dramatically reducing acid rain.

That "cap-and-trade" approach works because it provides certainty—companies have a specific greenhouse-gas-emission target—and because free markets are the most efficient way to reward innovation. A market-based system has two added benefits: it creates new revenue sources for companies clean enough to sell credits, and it enables free markets to determine the best solutions instead of having governments bet on

what they think are going to be the winning innovations. That vision is one reason a Republican Governor and a Democratic legislature were able to agree on the global-warming act and many business leaders—including Silicon Valley entrepreneur turned environmental activist Bob Epstein—got behind it.

The economic benefits are large and calculable. In California, the world's sixth largest economy, the Climate Action Team determined that global-warming reduction would increase income by more than \$4 billion while providing 83,000 new jobs. Growth will come from several sources: innovative green technologies will create high-quality jobs and new revenue streams. In addition, companies will have increased purchasing power once they decrease energy costs and reduce imports of fossil fuels. The notion that businesses will leave the state is flawed because all suppliers that sell to California are affected, not only California-based suppliers. The doomsayers just don't get it: we can harmonize economic growth and environmental benefits.

In fact, some of us in venture capital are already seeing "green tech" as a growth area. We're backing breakthroughs in energy generation, storage, conservation, transportation and distribution. Clear carbon-emission limits are generating even more demand, and entrepreneurs are rushing to meet it. Just this year my firm has received hun-

dreds of proposals for innovation and opportunities that are breathtaking—and breath saving. American innovation can end our oil addiction the same way Brazilians kicked their oil habit using ethanol grown from sugarcane.

Four out of five Americans support efforts to curb global warming, but our leaders in Washington have been slow to act. And it's not the first time. Many of the most important advances in clean-air and environmental policy, including energy-efficiency standards for appliances and clean-car laws, have started in California, spread across the country and finally been embraced and consolidated in national legislation. So Washington, do you hear us? A national approach is inevitable, and we should start now, before states form a patchwork of 50 different plans. Predictability and consistency will encourage businesses across America to invest in going green. Going green may be the largest economic opportunity of the 21st century. It is the mother of all markets. Going green is the next big thing. And the next generation insists we do it.



John Doerr, a founder of the Greentech Network, is a venture capitalist at Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers in Menlo Park, Calif.





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**PSI?**

By TIM PADGETT MEXICO CITY



**THE DIVIDE:** Calderón, top, who won about 36% of the vote, will have to deal with tumult in Oaxaca state, where protestors, below, want the governor's resignation



# WHY MEXICO KEEPS BURNING

With a new President finally set to take office, a seething opposition is putting democracy to the test

**E**VEN DURING PLACID TIMES, MEXICO'S annual Informe, or State of the Union address, makes for high political theater. And so when outgoing President Vicente Fox arrived at the San Lázaro Congress building in Mexico City to give his final Informe last Friday night, Mexicans were ready for some drama. And they got it. Congressmen loyal to leftist presidential contender Andrés Manuel López Obrador, who has spent the past two months protesting the results of the July 2 election, jumped from their seats and surrounded the broad podium, shouting "*Fuera!*" (Out!). So obdurate were the legislators that they blocked Fox, decked out in his presidential sash, from delivering his speech. All he could do was hand the text to congressional leaders in the lobby and go home.

The confrontation was the latest noisy move by López Obrador's supporters, who condemn his apparent electoral loss as a fraud. It is unlikely to be their last. This week Conservative Felipe Calderón, a member of Fox's National Action Party (PAN), is expected to be declared the winner by a razor-thin margin, after two months of ballot recounts and bitter legal challenges. But thousands of López Obrador stalwarts insist they will continue occupying the Zócalo, Mexico City's main plaza, and the Paseo de la Reforma, its principal avenue, where they have been living for weeks under pup tents and sprawling tarpaulins. "We'll stay here as long as it takes to get López Obrador declared the winner," says Norma Cruz, 48, a poor housewife from the rural southern state of Oaxaca who has been camping with her husband and four children in the Zócalo for almost a month. "This is the only way left to take on the monopolies of economic power in Mexico."

At this point, though, Cruz is more likely to witness the second coming of Montezuma than to see López Obrador, the former mayor of Mexico City, declared President. There is little compelling evidence that victory was stolen from him. To many observers, including prominent Mexican leftists, his refusal to accept the fact that he did lose—if only by 243,000 votes out of 41 million cast—is no longer democratic protest but demagogic petulance. Polls show that Mexicans are exasperated by the massive political street fair, complete with mariachi bands and the aromas of regional cooking. But the most

hotly contested election in the nation's history has exposed more glaringly than ever the potentially violent social divide in Mexico. Addressing this split in a constructive way will be crucial to Calderón's ability to defuse the growing turbulence. And that, in turn, could have a beneficial impact on Washington's efforts to curb illegal immigration, which may not be successful until its southern neighbor builds more reliable government institutions and a more equitable economy.

The road ahead will be rough. Mexican democracy only took root in 2000, when Fox

of 106 million live in poverty. Most are in the backward rural south, where almost all the states went to López Obrador. His supporters have proved doggedly determined to keep the cause of Mexico's have-nots—many of whom live little better than their great-grandparents did before Mexico's bloody 1910 Revolution—on the political radar screen. "If they don't," says Rogelio Ramírez de la O, López Obrador's economic adviser, "it could take 200 more years for Mexico's economic growth to trickle down to the poor."

seemed to worsen it—like a controversial law that gave away billions of dollars of additional broadcasting spectrum to Mexico's two TV network behemoths, Televisa and TV Azteca.

The fact that Calderón won the July election shows that Mexican society is more conservative than the left cares to admit. But across the political range, there's an emerging consensus that the health of Mexico's democracy depends on closing the gap between rich and poor. That's a big reason why figures such as Ramírez de la O—a Cambridge-educated economist and one of Mexico's most respected business consultants—signed on with López Obrador this year. Ramírez de la O insists that Mexican policy has too long neglected "real job creation, the kind that can reduce Mexico's illegal migrant flow." That would require increased investment in rural infrastructure and small and medium-size businesses, which employ two-thirds of Mexico's workers but are chronically denied bank credit and capital. The World Bank recently announced a \$1 billion loan program for smaller enterprises in the region, including Mexico. That's the kind of help, say experts like Ramírez de la O, that the U.S. should prioritize as a way to ease the economic displacement that many Mexicans, especially farmers, have experienced under the North



defeated the dictatorial Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which had ruled the country for 71 years. López Obrador and militants in his Democratic Revolution Party (PRD) have promised to create a "parallel government" and widen their "civil resistance," starting with a disruption of next week's Independence Day celebrations and continuing through the Dec. 1 presidential inauguration. In impoverished Oaxaca, thousands of teachers and other workers striking for better pay have virtually paralyzed the state—and a small but tenacious guerrilla force, the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR), has begun to re-emerge there.

Though it has the potential to destabilize Mexico, the revolt of López Obrador and his supporters may have a silver lining, by focusing attention on the country's social ills. Almost half the population

#### PERMANENT PROTEST?

**Supporters of López Obrador gather in Mexico City just after the July 2 vote. The defeated candidate is threatening to set up a "parallel government" if the results stand**

The question now is whether Calderón, 44, a Harvard-educated technocrat, has the brass to confront the entrenched corporate monopolies that helped his campaign squeak by López Obrador. A political adviser to Calderón says that, once in office, Calderón may roll back some of the lavish tax and regulatory breaks that Big Business enjoys in Mexico. For many Mexicans, that would be a promising start, since economic reform, or the lack of it, is at the heart of Mexico's mess. After Fox beat the PRI in 2000, Mexicans expected the President (who by law could not seek re-election) to tackle the country's crony capitalism. Instead, he signed bills that

American Free Trade Agreement.

Calderón says he is on the same page. "One kilometer of new road in Oaxaca," he has said, "is worth more than 100 miles of fence on the U.S.-Mexico border." Having won about 36% of the vote, he hardly has a robust mandate. But he has smartly stayed calm about his opponent's postelection outbursts, perhaps realizing how raw the memories of decades of PRI-engineered election fraud are in the minds of his countrymen. Calderón last week praised the electoral tribunal for "eliminating the insidious doubts" about his victory that he says López Obrador has planted. Still, when Calderón takes the presidential podium, he will face the more daunting task of eliminating Mexico's doubts about the future of its democracy. —With reporting by Dolly Mascareñas/ Mexico City



What can we do about  
SO MANY PEOPLE slipping  
through the cracks of the  
HEALTH INSURANCE system?

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Fill the gaps.

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Azadeh Moaveni/Tehran

# Living Under The Cloud

As Iran's leaders raise the stakes, many people are already feeling the pain



**T**HE EARLY RISERS IN MY NEIGHBORHOOD ARRIVED AT THE local bakery one recent morning to find the doors locked and the stone oven cold. They milled about for a while and then began speculating about why the bakery should mysteriously be shut. Before long, they settled on an explanation: the Iranian government had sent all the country's flour to Lebanon. Since the war in Lebanon ended last month, Iranians have become convinced that their government is spending outrageous sums on Lebanon's Shi'ites to shore up support for Iran's longtime client Hizballah. The rumors grow more outlandish every day: the Lebanese are receiving free suvs or plasma televisions. As shop owner Behjat Karimi, 47, put it, "What else of ours are they going to give away next?"

The bakery, it turns out, was merely closed for remodeling. But a general sense of suspicion still hangs in the air, and Tehran probably can't ignore it. To the outside world, the Iranian government projects an image of national resolve as it defies U.N. Security Council demands to stop enriching uranium. But the regime's ability to withstand international pressure may depend on how forgiving Iranians are about the sluggish economy. The rate of inflation is at least 19%, and unemployment has edged up to 15%. At a press conference last week, President

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad fended off criticism of his economic program by swinging attention to foreign policy and calling for a debate with President George W. Bush. Some former Iranian officials and other analysts speculate that Ahmadinejad is stoking the nuclear crisis with the West in part to divert attention from the economy. "This is the first government in years to make big economic promises to people," says a close associate of Ahmadinejad's with knowledge of his government's thinking. "If it fails to deliver, it will be a catastrophe not just for this administration but for the entire regime."

The war in Lebanon has provoked economic anxieties. Nightly news broadcasts that Iranians watch on their illegal satellite dishes show Hizballah doling out thick stacks of cash to displaced Shi'ites, courtesy of Iran. Because President

Ahmadinejad enjoys pandering to public sentiment in the Arab world, the flow of Iranian resources to Lebanon is no secret. But this spending on a faraway Arab community infuriates Iranians and revives an ugly Persian chauvinism that considers Arabs uncultured and backward. One story I heard last week has the wife of Hizballah leader Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah receiving a gift of Iranian caviar and thinking it was some sort of jam.

The discontent is rising. At a recent dinner party, all my guests rattled off fresh complaints about the government's misplaced priorities: a businessman who legally imports foreign goods says the government hasn't stopped the influx of smuggled products; a musician couple can't find affordable housing in Tehran; an English teacher at a government-run language institute complains of the school's harsh new dress code. "Instead of caring about our coat lengths, maybe [Ahmadinejad] should pay attention to what counts," says Farah, 32, the teacher.

**HIGH ANXIETY** An Iranian lets off some steam at a restaurant in southern Tehran

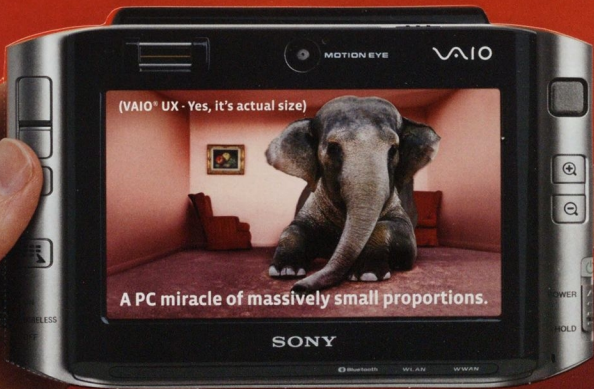
For now, the Establishment doesn't seem threatened by people's grievances. But moderates are worried that a serious confrontation with the U.S., possibly involving military strikes, would provoke a legitimacy crisis for the regime. All of which suggests that Iran may defy the West over its nuclear program for as long as it can manage, and adapt at the last minute to avoid a military clash. Until then, even the threat of sanctions could prove useful by offering Iran's President an external source of blame for the nation's economic problems.

Iranians seem resigned to the likelihood that with tensions rising, the situation at home is likely to get worse. Earlier last month, police confiscated all the illegal satellite dishes in my neighborhood under the guise of preventing the broadcast of impure content. The "real" story circulating among residents went like this: a regime official had recently begun importing small, laptop-size satellite dishes that work indoors. If the government rounded up the rooftop dishes, everyone would be forced to buy the official's dishes. For a while, people on my block stood outside debating what to do. The elders finally shook their heads in dejection while their children traded ring-tones on their mobile phones.

To read Azadeh Moaveni's new blog about daily life in Tehran, Lipstick Jihad, visit [time.com](http://time.com)

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Azadeh Moaveni/Tehran

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As Iran's leaders raise the stakes, many people are already feeling the pain



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government rounded up the rooftop dishes, be forced to buy the official's dishes. For a while my block stood outside debating what to do. The shook their heads in dejection while their children ringtones on their mobile phones.

To read Azadeh Moaveni's new blog about daily life in Tehran, Lipstick Jihad, visit [time.com](http://time.com)

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OCTOBER 2006  
INSIDE BUSINESS

TIME  
BONUS SECTION



# Changing The Play

ARIZONA'S HAPLESS CARDINALS HAVE A NEW  
STADIUM AND A NEW STAR. BUT ONLY BETTER  
MANAGEMENT CAN TURN THEM INTO NATIONAL  
FOOTBALL LEAGUE CONTENDERS

PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME  
BY ROBERT GALLAGHER

## Management

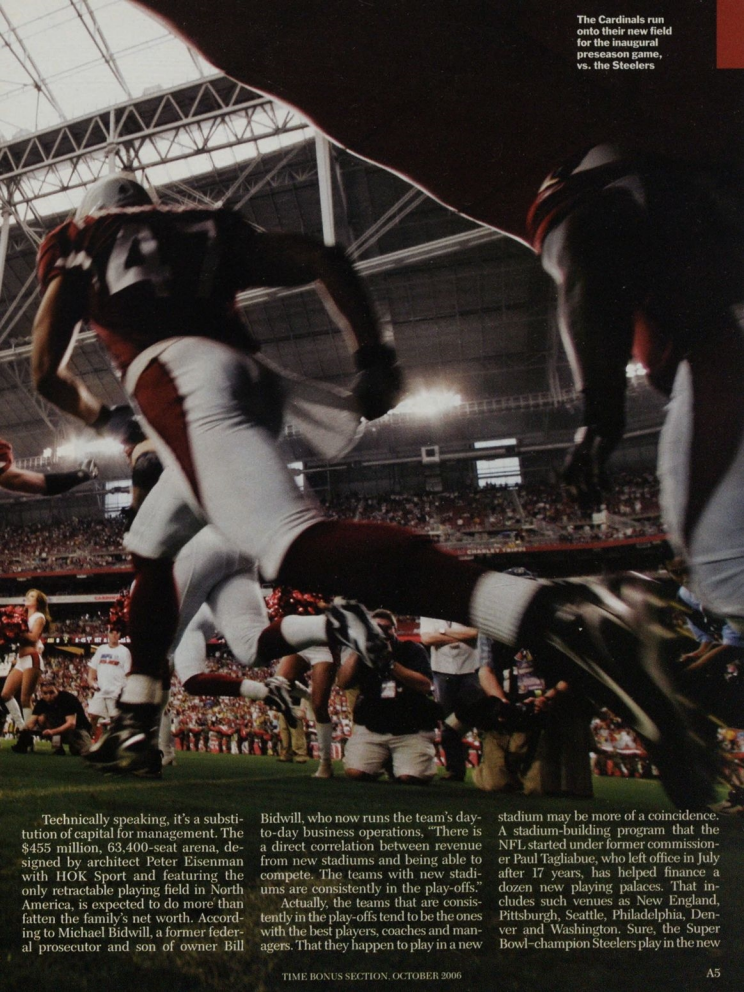


BY  
ANITA  
HAMILTON  
GLENDALE

THE STEEL-CLAD STADIUM RISING ABOVE THE desert just northwest of Phoenix is supposed to resemble a snake that is slowly uncoiling, but the new football arena's silvery shell and huge

size make it look more otherworldly to newcomer Matt Leinart. "It looks like a big spaceship to me," says the rookie quarterback-in-training, who just signed with the National Football League's biggest losers. With just one play-off victory since winning the

championship in 1947, as the Chicago Cardinals, the St. Louis-now-Arizona Cardinals are in the midst of the longest play-off dry spell in the league. The Cardinals have also set the records for the lowest attendance and revenues in the NFL. Now the Bidwill family, which has owned the team since 1933, is predicting that its swanky new nest in Glendale will help resurrect the much maligned team.



The Cardinals run onto their new field for the inaugural preseason game, vs. the Steelers

Technically speaking, it's a substitution of capital for management. The \$455 million, 63,400-seat arena, designed by architect Peter Eisenman with HOK Sport and featuring the only retractable playing field in North America, is expected to do more than fatten the family's net worth. According to Michael Bidwill, a former federal prosecutor and son of owner Bill

Bidwill, who now runs the team's day-to-day business operations, "There is a direct correlation between revenue from new stadiums and being able to compete. The teams with new stadiums are consistently in the play-offs."

Actually, the teams that are consistently in the play-offs tend to be the ones with the best players, coaches and managers. That they happen to play in a new

stadium may be more of a coincidence. A stadium-building program that the NFL started under former commissioner Paul Tagliabue, who left office in July after 17 years, has helped finance a dozen new playing palaces. That includes such venues as New England, Pittsburgh, Seattle, Philadelphia, Denver and Washington. Sure, the Super Bowl-champion Steelers play in the new



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■ **ROLLOUT** The grass playing surface sits in a tray that is wheeled out of the stadium to expose the turf to natural light and fresh air

■ **IN THE POCKET** The 88 luxury "lofts" cost up to \$125,000 a season and feature 27-in. plasma displays and cork floors. The cheapest seats start at \$10

■ **FIELD GOAL** Cup holders on each chair remind fans of "going to a multiplex," says architect Eisenman

Heinz Field (which has done nothing for Heinz, by the way), but the same team won four Super Bowls playing in the odious Three Rivers Stadium. The common denominator is the Rooney family, which has owned the Steelers for as long as the Bidwills have ruled the Cardinals. Over the past 40 years,



though, the Rooneys have been far better managers than the Bidwills.

Michael Bidwill, 41, makes the case that the stadium is the shiny manifestation of a new business model that will narrow the gap on the field and on P&L. Seated in one of the generously cushioned, red club seats on the day before the stadium's grand opening on Aug. 12, he says the extra revenue that Cardinals Stadium will generate each year is already helping the team attract and keep top talent. That includes former Indiana Colts running back Edgerrin James, 28, who just signed a four-year, \$30 million contract, as well as breakout stars like wide receiver Anquan Boldin, 25, who got \$10 million in signing bonuses when he re-upped his contract last year through 2010.

What's more, the air-conditioned arena, which lets in natural light through its retractable roof made of woven polyester reinforced with Teflon, also restores a home-field advantage lost to the desert heat. Because of the climate, the Cardinals haven't had a home opener in the open-air Sun Devil Stadium at Arizona State University in Tempe since they moved from St. Louis in 1988. And when they played at home, the 73,000-seat stadium was often half empty. Now, with the eight home games sold out for 2006, "all that positive energy gives our guys a boost," says coach Dennis Green.

No wonder Michael Bidwill is all smiles as he gives a personal tour of the red-carpeted locker room and the carefully manicured, natural-grass playing field. ("It's

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## Management



The new Cardinals Stadium indulges fans with comfy refreshment areas, far left, and luxurious skyboxes, left, and honors players with soaring murals, center

one for talent because all NFL teams have a salary cap—\$102 million in 2006, up from \$85.5 million in 2005—which most reach.

One problem the Cardinals have not

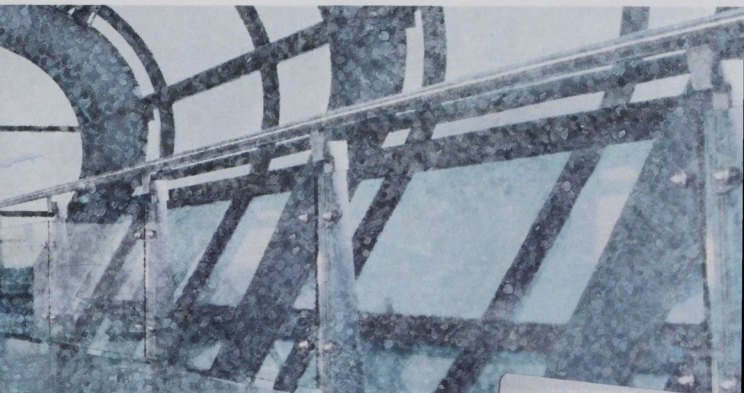
Tifway 419," he points out.) Even though the team has been a loser on the field, it has been a winner on the books; it's difficult to lose money in the NFL. The \$50,000 investment made by Michael's grandfather in 1933 has mushroomed into a franchise worth more than \$700 million today. And while the Cardinals have historically made less money than other clubs, they're hardly in the poorhouse. This year, for example, they'll get the same \$100 million-plus in revenues from national television rights that every other team gets. The NFL, armed with new TV contracts, should gross more than \$7 billion, up from \$6 billion in 2005.

Employees know, however, that even a new headquarters doesn't guarantee a better operation. "Buildings don't win games. Play-

ers do," says Kurt Warner, the veteran starting quarterback who led the team to a dismal 5-11 season last year. But buildings can produce income. The stadium could generate an additional \$60 million in revenue, since the team keeps two-thirds of ticket sales and all the money from suites. The Bidwills can bank on an additional \$25 million or more in estimated annual profits (on top of the \$16.5 million *Forbes* calculates the team made in 2004), according to Andrew Zimbalist, a sports-business expert and economics professor at Smith College. "I'm sure Bidwill is delighted," says the economist, but he notes that the extra income isn't a competitive advantage. First, other teams have similar extra income streams that new stadiums generate. Second, the Cardinals aren't going to be outperforming any-

been able to shake is the ongoing criticism of Bill Bidwill's management style. The notoriously aloof, bow-tied Mr. B has been criticized for everything from the exorbitant premiums he charged for the sizzling-hot metal bleacher seats at Sun Devil Stadium, when the team moved to Arizona in 1988, to poor choices in coaches, free agents and draft picks. "I think he's been very misunderstood because he hasn't felt comfortable speaking up," says Michael, who describes his father as a nice, shy guy.

During one particularly bleak period, from 1993 to 1996, the Cardinals went through three head coaches, firing the first, Joe Bugel, after he failed to meet Mr. B's public ultimatum that the team win at least nine games. "That was a terrible decision.



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## Management

The team was headed in the right direction, and then you're starting all over," says ABC football analyst Ed Cunningham, who played for the Cards from 1992 to 1995.

Jake Plummer, the club's former QB, who led the team to its January 1999 play-off victory against the Dallas Cowboys, blames the downturn on the loss of experienced players like Lomas Brown and Larry Centers to free agency because the Bidwills didn't want to pay up. Comparing his Broncos career—he was 13-3 last season—with his Cardinals stint, Plummer says consistency makes all the difference. "I've had the same linemen in front of me for the last three years. Keeping a nice, tight group of guys goes a long way toward winning."

More veterans might have stayed with the Cards if management hadn't been so tightfisted or even openly hostile to them. In 1999, for example, the Bidwills offered Mark Smith, the team's best defensive tackle, a contract that would pay him less than his backup was making. At one point during the protracted negotiations, which extended two games into the season, then general manag-

er Bob Ferguson joked that Smith should be grateful for anything higher than the minimum wage earned by fast-food workers.

Rod Graves, who has been general manager since 2002, says the Cardinals are birds of a different feather now, but the reputation lingers. "We're just not far enough removed from the perceptions of the past," he says. Known for his careful, diplomatic demeanor, Graves has won raves from top agents. "He's definitely a classy guy," says Drew Rosenhaus, who represents James, Boldin, Darnell Dockett and rookie Gabe Watson. "As opposed to years and years of long, acrimonious contract negotiations, Rod has been extremely effective in player acquisitions and negotiations," says Leigh Steinberg, agent for the 365-lb. offensive linebacker Leonard Davis, who will take home about \$10 million this year. Graves says his personal goal is to build a core of players "who we consider bell cows," like Boldin and James on offense, Bertrand Berry on defense, and kicker Neil Rackers.

As Graves and Michael Bidwill set a new tone for the team (Bill Bidwill contin-

ues to sign off on major deals), players are sticking around rather than fleeing the Valley as soon as their contracts are up. Rackers, 30, who set the NFL record with 40 field goals last year, says he signed a four-year, \$6.75 million contract last fall out of loyalty to the club, which hired him when he was "unemployed" in 2003 after a three-year stint with the Cincinnati Bengals. "I'll stay here as long as they want me," he says. Berry, 31, who signed in 2004 after leaving the Denver Broncos, says of his move: "I saw it as a challenge. I wanted to be one of the guys who was in the forefront. Everything is set up for us. There is no excuse for us not to be successful."

One of the best reasons they might be is the arrival of running back Edgerrin James. Not only is he a benchmark player—the four-time Pro Bowler is just 181 yds. shy of becoming one of the top 20 rushers of all time—but he's changing the corporate culture. "This is not a bad team. It just needs

**"BUILDINGS DON'T WIN GAMES. PLAYERS DO."**

—KURT WARNER, ARIZONA CARDINALS QUARTERBACK

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**These tailgaters at a preseason game got lucky: the Cards sold out their '06 home games in four days**

fans booed the Pittsburgh Steelers as they ran onto the field, Edge told

TIME, "They appreciate a football team. These people want to win so badly."

Dan Alandar, 52, is one of those fans. A season-ticket holder for four years, the X-ray-machine salesman from Peoria, Ariz., says he and his girlfriend used to bring mist sprayers and portable fans to keep cool as they grilled on the bleachers at Sun Devil Stadium. "The first four or five games used to be a test of your endurance," he says. Now the couple enjoys \$100 cushioned club seats in the soaring, air-conditioned arena.

And even though many sports fans around the country seem skeptical about the Cardinals' imminent rebirth—some wonder whether the defense will hold up—Alander has a much sunnier outlook. "They were always on the verge of being a good team. This year I think they'll make the play-offs." Maybe Edge was right about those Cardinals fans: they really do want it bad. ■

to do the little things to take it over the top," says Edge, whose gold-capped front teeth sparkle in the light when he smiles—something he has been doing a lot since he moved to the Valley this spring. "I go through and tell every lineman, 'If y'all don't make mistakes, trust me, we're good.' I let people know that I believe in them and that I'm here for them."

Edge is so pumped up for the 2006 season, which kicks off Sept. 10 against the San Francisco 49ers, that he has even found a reason to love the Arizona fans, who in past years were more likely to root for the opposing team (especially when it was the Dallas Cowboys or Green Bay Packers) than for the Cardinals. On the Monday after the first preseason game, during which

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## Small Business

# Back in Print

THE OLD-FASHIONED LETTERPRESS GETS A 21ST CENTURY BUSINESS MAKEOVER

BY  
COELI  
CARR

THERE'S NOT MUCH THAT BEN WEBSTER, A STATIONERY designer in Salt Lake City, Utah, won't do to get his hands on another letterpress machine.

In late 2003, Webster, who produces cards using that traditional process, took possession of letterpress No. 3—he currently owns seven—by dismantling and transporting it piece by piece through a shaft he had dug in a window well. “The owner of the press told me, ‘If you can get it out of the

basement, it's yours,” says Webster, 29, who started Seraph Stationery a year and a half ago.

It's notable that letterpresses, weighing up to 2,500 lbs. and made by companies with Old World names like Vandercook, Heidelberg and Chandler & Price, haven't been manufactured for decades. Not surprisingly, printers covet them. That's

why a machine in good condition can fetch a high price. A Vandercook might go for as much as \$6,000; four years ago, you could have bought one for less than \$1,000. “If one machine breaks down, I want to have another one to back it up,” says Webster.

**Some printers use wood type for a more artistic and experimental effect**

**Webster in his studio with his presses. “They are precise, ingenious yet simple,” he says**

Only those antediluvian behemoths can create the signature sculptured, three-dimensional letterpress look of deep impressions made in paper. That's what attracts printers and consumers, says Fritz Klinke, 65, who has spent more than 50 years working in the printing industry. Klinke owns NA Graphics in Silverton, Colo., which sells letterpress-printing supplies and parts.

Klinke is seeing a letterpress renaissance. He estimates that over the past three years, about 500 people have joined the ranks of letterpress printers in the U.S. He has 3,000 customers. Most companies, he says, are one- to three-person outfits, and about 90% post revenues of less than \$100,000.

Webster projects that his revenues this year will crack six figures. With two full-time and two part-time employees, he produces stock cards of his own design and wholesales them for \$2 apiece (each retails for \$4 to

\$4.50), fills wedding-invitation orders from retailers and does letterpress jobs for other designers. Webster's in it for the long haul. “The final product and the effect are what I'm in love with,” he says.



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## Small Business

4 in a series of 8

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Presented by

**Microsoft**

BYLAN NILEEN (3)



**Letterpress offers texture and depth. Webster's greeting cards are made individually on a hand-fed machine. Each color has to be printed separately**



So is Lisa Krowinski, owner of Sapling Press in Pittsburgh, Pa., who became a full-time letterpress operator in early 2004. She loves the instant gratification letterpress printing offers. "When you're done, you have a stack of whatever you've just printed right in front of you," says Krowinski, who owns three letterpresses. She's a one-person shop, dividing her time between turning out her own stock cards, which she wholesales for \$2.25, and custom work like wedding invitations and personal stationery. She projects 2006 revenues in the middle five figures.

Paul Moxon, a consultant, designer and printer in Birmingham, Ala., who owns Fameorshame Press, has seen the growth of

letterpress printing reflected in the popularity of courses he teaches around the country. Recently, at the San Francisco Center for the Book, both his classes were sold out. Moxon believes designers are attracted to the technique because it allows them to control the entire process and select paper not used in commercial printing jobs—lush sheets with deckle edges and uneven surfaces and such inclusions as bits of leaves or flowers. It's the uniqueness of a letterpress creation that makes people willing to pay a premium. "It is pricey, and that's one of the reasons why printers put the real bite into it, so you know it's letterpress from across the room," says Moxon.

Working in an archaic mode has its competitive advantages. "Because the presses are obsolete, you're not competing with other people who are getting the newest machinery, so actually our capital investment is far less than most offset printers," says Julie Holcomb, who has run Julie Holcomb Printers in Emeryville, Calif., for 25 years. Ironically, she adds, advances in computer technology have allowed letterpress designers to use photopolymer plates—which contain the image and text to be printed—in place of hand-set type. "I hope the people who are printing now—me included—are helping develop an audience that will be cultivated and maintained so our craft can survive," she says.

Fortunately, those vintage machines are still out there to be tracked down. Klinke estimates that there may be as many as 20,000 left out of several hundred thousand presses that existed in the 1960s. That bodes well for diehards like Webster, who admits he can't walk by a printed piece of paper without touching it. "If I see a flat-printed piece," he says, "I think, 'Boy, that would sure look neat if it were letterpressed.'" ■

**"YOU'RE NOT COMPETING WITH OTHER PEOPLE WHO ARE GETTING THE NEWEST MACHINERY." —JULIE HOLCOMB**

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# Wheels of Gold

THE MINING BOOM IS DRIVING THE  
MARKET FOR GIANT TIRES TO  
TOWERING NEW HEIGHTS

PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME BY  
ROBERT NICKELSBURG—GETTY

Tires 12 ft. in  
diameter equip  
coal trucks at  
Wyoming's  
Buckskin Mine

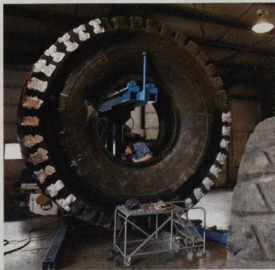
BY  
JEREMY  
CAPLAN

THE AVERAGE DRIVER MAY NOT THINK MUCH ABOUT the tires on his car until one goes flat. But those who operate the mining industry's monster trucks, whose wheels are 12 ft. in diameter and weigh 7,500 lbs.,

know that the rubber on the rims is worth its weight in gold. Giant tires are in increasingly short supply as the extraction industry hits overdrive to chase rising commodities prices. As demand for raw materials grows in the booming economies of India and China, mining

companies are scurrying to dig deeper, faster and more efficiently for coal, copper and other materials. In doing so, they're loading up on the world's biggest trucks (40-plus-ft. tall) and coaxing mileage from their old vehicles—all of which require new \$20,000 tires as often as once a year. Unlike tires for automobiles, which can be cranked out by the millions, those for large mining trucks are labor intensive. Tires for your Chevy can be cured in as little as 15 min., for instance; that process takes as much as 12 hr. for an earthmoving truck's tires. The big manufacturers—Goodyear, Michelin and Bridgestone—don't have the production capacity to meet the rising demand.

**Mechanics  
spend two days  
repairing a giant  
tire at the Big  
Horn Tire Shop  
in Gillette, Wyo.**



Prashant Prabhu, worldwide president of Michelin's Earthmover Tires division, says the company is boosting capacity at its plant in Lexington, S.C., from about 11,000 giant tires annually to 16,000. Bridgestone is investing \$155 million to expand production 20% at three Japanese plants over the next two years, although the company anticipates that manufacturers won't be able to meet demand until at least 2011.

The major manufacturers have long-term contracts with their biggest customers, so those orders will be met first, which means there isn't enough capacity left over to supply smaller or newer mining operations. That has become an opportunity for a growing group of big-wheel brokers. The rubber is meeting the road at up to \$60,000 apiece. "The shortage is enabling anyone with something black and round with a hole in the middle to supply it at an exorbitant price," says Prabhu. "People have even told us to put our tires on eBay." Prabhu won't sacrifice the company's relationship with longtime customers for short-term gain.



## Really Big Business

**"IT'D BE PRETTY TOUGH TO THROW 7,500 LBS. OF RUBBER INTO THE BACK OF A PICKUP."**

**—GREGG HOSS**

But mine operators without such relationships are scouring the Internet to find tires overseas, in some cases buying second-rate alternatives from Belarus, Ukraine or China. Most of those are bias-ply tires rather than radials. The difference? Radials generally last 5,000 to 7,000 hr., depending on conditions; bias tires may last just a third as long and are more likely to blow under stress.

For mining companies desperate to keep million-dollar machines in use, though, a second-rate tire is better than none. Shawn Rasey, executive director of

North American sales for Bridgestone, says he recently saw a fleet of five large oil trucks sit idle for five months because they lacked tires, causing the forfeiture of millions of dollars in profits.

Increasingly, mine operators are trying to extend tire life by smoothing mine roads, reducing payloads and lowering speeds. If the shortage has had a positive effect, it's the reduction in tire-related accidents, says Chris Curfman, vice president of Caterpillar Global Mining, which ships just 5% of its trucks with tires. The rest are "naked," requiring

customers to acquire tires from distributors.

When tires do get damaged, they're repaired more often than they used to be. Mark Lyens, equipment manager for the Walsh Group, a national construction company with about 2,000 trucks, says this year he has overseen the repair of 50 tires—to save rather than shred them. Growing demand for such fixes has benefited tire-repair outfits like the Big Horn Tire Shop of Gillette, Wyo., which has more than 30 workers fixing about 70 tires at a time. Repair jobs there can take two days and cost from \$800 to \$2,000.

Al Chicago, president of the Western states division of the Purcell Tire & Rubber Co., says the shortage is the worst he has seen in his 44 years in the industry. Its scale hit home, Chicago says, when he saw a tire he had donated to a school—where it had been painted for use on the playground—arrive at his shop for repairs, having been harvested by a mining company.

Given the tires' value, one feature that operators like about them is their theft. "At least they're rarely stolen," says Gregg Hoss, CEO of Hoss Equipment, a national mining-equipment company. "It'd be pretty tough to throw 7,500 lbs. of rubber into the back of a pickup." Just you wait. ■

**Forklifts move monster tires for repairs at the Big Horn Tire Shop**



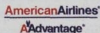
**Ranchers use worn-out tires to store water for cattle. Some are being dug up and refurbished**

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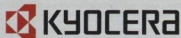
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## CEO Speaks

As bigger catastrophes loom, CEO Liddy says Allstate, and you, must limit risk

Mississippi and Texas, there's a much greater level of satisfaction.

**Given all these satisfied customers, why is Allstate pulling back in coastal states?**

Are we prepared to write and extend additional coverage in some states? We are not. Not until there's much more clarity around whether those states are going to honor the insurance contract.

**Clarity over what?**

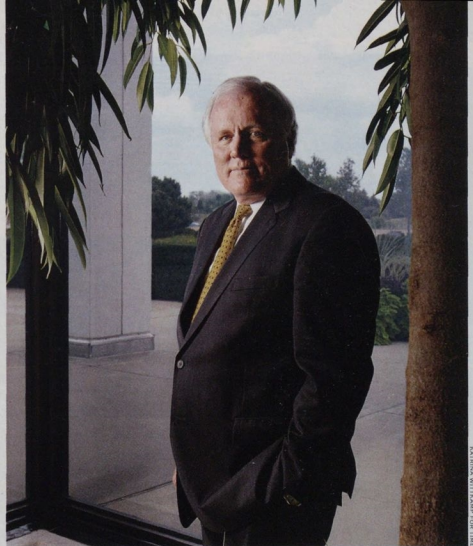
Are they going to honor what's been the typical [differentiation] between wind and water? Sometimes that means where risks have gotten much higher than they used to be, we simply can't continue to write down there. For a while, Florida had a thousand families a day moving in, home values have escalated rapidly, and yet the rate increases we're allowed to charge [by state regulators] have not kept pace with that. So we've made some hard decisions and scaled back our coverage in Florida, the Gulf Coast and in some of the exposed areas in New York. We've raised our rates where appropriate, and we've got different deductibles. We've also added a lot of reinsurance in our business at a very substantial cost that enables us to continue to write in most areas.

**Allstate faced a strong backlash from state officials when it proposed ending hail and wind coverage in Louisiana.**

The reality is that we are regulated by 50 different states. They place regulations on us in terms of what we can charge. They regulate the form of the contract. They regulate where we're allowed to write, where we're not allowed to write.

**Allstate has asked the government to pay for future hurricane damage. Isn't that abdication your obligations?**

We're not suggesting the government pay at all. We're suggesting that people who live in harm's way pay the full price. For events that happen more frequently, insurance companies should absolutely provide coverage. When you get to the very large events that happen more infrequently, those events should be



KATHLEEN KINGSBURY FOR TIME

# High-Water Marks

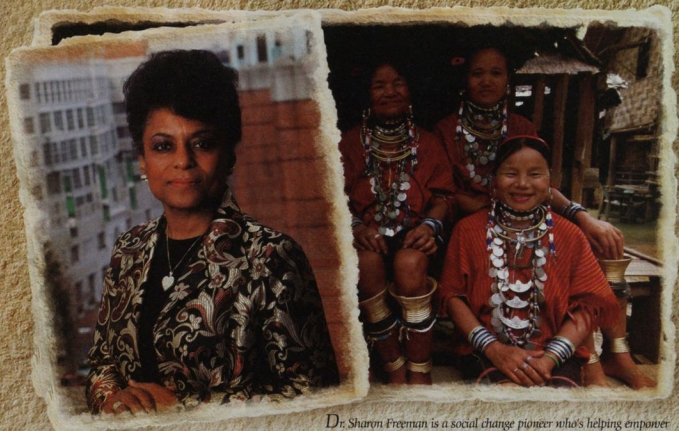
AFTER THE STORM, ALLSTATE'S BOSS ASSESSES THE INDUSTRY

ONE YEAR AFTER HURRICANE KATRINA RAVAGED THE GULF COAST, insurance companies have settled 95% of homeowners' claims, paying out \$16.4 billion. But the industry remains mired in related lawsuits, which could raise prices and lower availability. Allstate CEO Edward Liddy tells TIME's KATHLEEN KINGSBURY how his business must evolve to keep underwriting the American Dream.

**Grade Allstate's performance post-Katrina.** The promptness with which we got down there and began the claims adjusting and handling process was second to none. We've taken a leadership position to advance national catastrophic coverage. So I would give us high marks on both what we do as a business and trying to influence the public-policy debate.

**But the industry hasn't won great praise.** There are a couple of players that are

what I call real insurance companies, and they got out there early and did the right thing. Then there are other players that are more interested in just collecting the premiums and not in resolving claims or issues when they occur. But on balance, given how large and impressive this event was, I would give the industry high marks. Public perception is very influenced by lawsuits that a few people have filed. But if you talk to people in Louisiana,



*Dr. Sharon Freeman is a social change pioneer who's helping empower disenfranchised people all over the world. Through her international development work she helps women who strive for a voice in society, businesses that struggle to compete globally, and immigrants who seek to succeed economically.*

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# THE LESSONS OF KATRINA

HURRICANES ARE GROWING MORE FREQUENT AND MORE COSTLY EACH DECADE. ARE YOU PREPARED?

Experts predict that storms of Hurricane Katrina's magnitude could hit land 30% more often in the next 10 to 15 years than they have in the past century. Yet 30% of vulnerable households aren't adequately insured. The Northeast's residents are

most at risk. Here are some tips to help you gear up.

- Buy enough insurance to rebuild your home and replace your belongings. Update the policy when you make home improvements. Check that the coverage pays living costs—such as a hotel stay—during the time you're making repairs.
- Make sure it's the right type. Only 14% of homeowners have flood insurance, whereas 50% mistakenly think they have it automatically. The National Flood Insurance Program covers most homeowners but must be purchased separately.
- Keep an up-to-date inventory of your property to expedite the claims process after a disaster.
- Have an evacuation plan that includes bringing along such important papers as identification, deeds and insurance policies. Send copies to an out-of-state relative now.
- Hurricane-proof your home if you live in a coastal area. Install shutters and a roof that are strong enough to withstand high winds. Replace old garage doors, and ensure that exterior doors have three hinges and a dead bolt.
- Review your policies regularly. One-third of Americans surveyed say they haven't looked at their insurance in the past three years.

**Disasters cost \$58 billion in insured losses in 2005, including \$41 billion from Hurricane Katrina**



covered by a state pool funded by all its citizens through an additional charge on insurance premiums or whenever a real estate transaction occurs. What we're advocating is, Let's be smart and do it up front and have the people who live in harm's way provide much of the pooled relief and then have the Federal Government stand in when there are the really large, tsunami kind of events.

## How would that change insurance?

More carriers could write in exposed areas because their exposure could be quantified. Over time, the coverage would be less expensive, because states don't pay taxes on the money they build up in these pools. Insurance companies do. If you go through a couple of years with no major events, those pools could get quite large, quite quickly, which means, in theory, prices could go down for consumers.

## How can the average consumer expect insurance coverage to change post-Katrina?

The average consumer can expect very little change. But if you live in Florida, it's going to be a very difficult situation in terms of the availability of insurance and the price of insurance. If you live in some of the exposed areas of Georgia or the Atlantic seaboard, insurance is going to be much more expensive.

## When stuff happens, we expect help. Is there an easier way to get it?

Americans are so optimistic. They always assume, It's not going to happen to me. In places where there is a high frequency of these very catastrophic storms, there has to be much better disaster-preparedness education. People need to read their insurance policies more closely. Insurance is one of those things you buy because you think you have to. You don't buy it because you fall in love. But a home is usually 35%

to 50% of your net worth. People have to spend time understanding what coverage they have, as opposed to just buying the policy, throwing it in a drawer and not doing anything with it for 10 or 15 years until they need it.

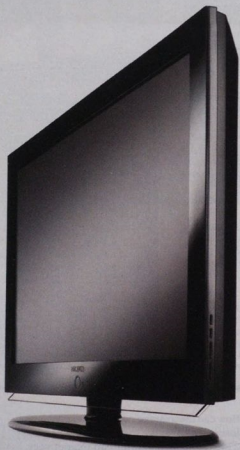
## Can the industry's rep weather this storm?

You can't do anything in the United States without insurance. There would be no cars, subways or buses if there weren't insurance. Buildings wouldn't stand. There wouldn't be any food, waiters or restaurants. It'd be great if more people recognized that what insurance companies do is really underwrite the great American Dream. The industry will be just fine. But much better preparedness and a much better way of dealing with these catastrophic events would go a huge way toward not just improving the image of the industry but making people feel like they are ready when these events occur.

Source: Insurance Information Institute



Raising the industry bar also means



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# Esprit Comes Home

EUROPE POWERED THE BRAND'S COMEBACK, BUT THE TURNAROUND ISN'T COMPLETE UNTIL U.S. SHOPPERS BUY IT

CEO Heinz Krogner sees the U.S. market, where Esprit started, as key to its future

BY  
MICHAEL  
SCHUMAN

HEINZ KROGNER, CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF CLOTHING designer and retailer Esprit, is one of the world's great turnaround artists. A decade ago, Esprit was a declining casual-clothing business. But Krogner

rebuilt Esprit into one of the fastest-growing apparel retailers. Sales in the past fiscal year, which ended in June, probably topped \$3 billion, nearly triple its revenues in 2001. In those five years, Esprit's market value has increased eightfold, to more than \$10 bil-

lion, roughly on a par with Limited Brands and almost twice the size of Abercrombie & Fitch.

The comeback story, however, has had an ironic wrinkle: the U.S., where Esprit first became famous, has been left out. Though now its main offices are in Hong Kong and Germany, Esprit was founded in San Francisco in 1968, and by the 1980s its brightly colored knits and shirts were must-haves for any American teen. But today sales in North America account for only about 3% of revenues. Even Krogner admits that the brand "has lost its relevance" to the American consumer.

Not for long, he says. Esprit is plotting to replant and revive itself on its former

home turf with new stores and a long-term investment plan. To succeed, the company must battle for the fickle American shopper with such entrenched chains as H&M and Banana Republic in a very crowded, hyper-competitive casualwear market. "They're inhabiting the middle of the pack, and it's going to

be tough for them to break out," says Steve Harty, chairman of the New York City office of ad agency BBH. Consider the Gap, which is struggling mightily to find its fashion mojo. But the U.S. is absolutely crucial to Esprit's future. "We want to be a global player," says Krogner, 65. "Global means you have to be in the U.S."

There's encouragement to be found in other comeback clothing brands. Lacoste, whose trademark alligator had once adorned countless polo shirts, used celebrity buzz to restore U.S. sales; Abercrombie & Fitch transformed itself from a chain for paisley-wearing

Esprit has made its apparel a must-have for Asia's hippest shoppers. China has 69 stores, including this Hong Kong location



MICHAEL GRANNING—STOCK/GETTY

## Global Players

"FOR YOUNG PEOPLE, ESPRIT MIGHT AS WELL BE THEIR FATHER'S OLDSMOBILE."

—EMANUEL WEINTRAUB,  
RETAIL ANALYST

grandfathers to a hip shop for preppy youngsters.

Krogner has given Esprit a major makeover—administered with a touch of ruthlessness. A former management consultant, he joined Esprit's European unit in 1995 and quickly replaced the management. He applied a similar take-no-prisoners approach to Esprit's business model, moving the company upscale in both quality and customer. Once primarily a shop for teens, Esprit focuses on people in their late 20s. The new format revived European sales, now 85% of the total.

The performance must have impressed Hong Kong businessman Michael Ying, who controlled Esprit's Asia business. The Asian branch acquired the European outfit in 1997, and Ying later made Krogner global CEO. Krogner then exported his plan to Asia. Esprit has a strong presence in China, with 69 stores operated through a joint venture. Last year Esprit opened its first store in India, through a local franchisee.

Esprit is tapping into a new trend in apparel retailing called fast fashion that has been exemplified by H&M. Shoppers buy clothing more frequently and wear each item less often, in part because the prices are low. Esprit now replaces its clothing lines almost entirely each month. Not only does that give shoppers more new items to purchase each year, but it also decreases Esprit's risk. If one trend flops, a new one hits the stores a month later.

One trend American shoppers won't be seeing much of is the teenybopper pastel sweaters and T-shirts that were once Esprit staples. Instead, the selection is more mature—khaki pants, jeans, striped shirts and white blouses. Although Esprit still sells basics, its designers add some clever flourishes to give the styles more panache. The company is positioning itself to sell clothing at prices 10% to 15% lower than Banana Republic's. Krogner calls Esprit clothing "for good girls. Not the one with



a ring in her nose or showing her belly."

A U.S. turnaround could go a long way toward helping Esprit maintain its frenetic pace. "Because growth rates have started to slow down, they need to get into bigger markets where their penetration is low," says Macquarie retail analyst Ramiz Chelati in Hong Kong. Hello, U.S.A. By 2002, sales had fallen to \$150 million, from \$700 million in 1987, according to Macquarie. Krogner got control of Esprit's American business when Ying bought the U.S. trademark in 2002. (The company is now publicly traded; Ying owned 15.8% as of the end of 2005.) As part of the acquisition, Krogner forced a shutdown of Esprit's existing American operations to afford a fresh start.

That time Krogner stumbled initially. He tried selling through department stores like Macy's and Dillard's—a strategy that had been successful in Europe—but unhappy with the placement given his product, he pulled the brand out. (Esprit is still carried by Nordstrom.) Then in late 2004, he reintroduced Esprit retail stores and now has 15 stores and outlets, most of them in the New York City area, including a flagship in hip SoHo. Again, some of those locations flopped, so Krogner dispatched coo Jerome Griffith to oversee the U.S. operation. Krogner also plans to open five more stores this fiscal year in ultra-prime locations and intends to focus on the region from Boston to Washington.

Esprit intends to invest \$20 million a year in the U.S. business, but some retail-

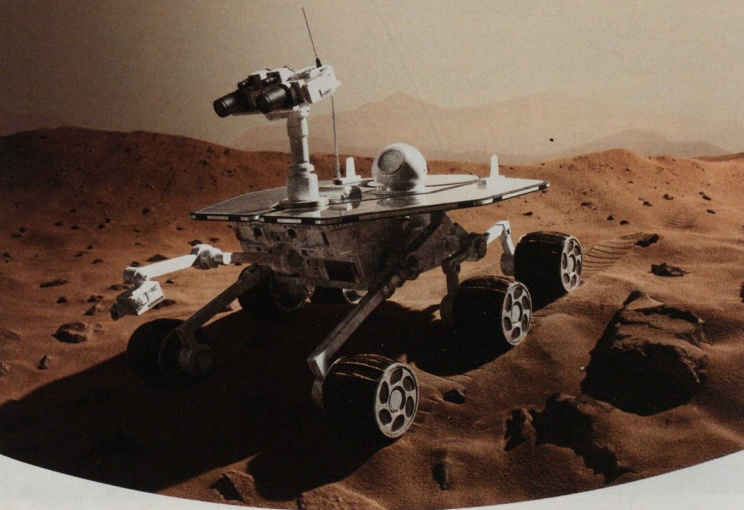
industry watchers say it may need to get more aggressive. To win customers in the U.S., Esprit has to spend more on splashy marketing to create new buzz around the brand, they say. "Word of mouth takes a long time to spread," says Marshal Cohen, a retail analyst at market-research firm NPD Group. "They've got to do more than open doors. This isn't the *Field of Dreams*." Meanwhile, analysts complain, the brand still fails to resonate, especially with younger consumers who don't remember Esprit. Says retail analyst Emanuel Weintraub: "For young people, Esprit might as well be their father's Oldsmobile." Good girls may shop Esprit, but bad girls shop everywhere.

Krogner says his conservative approach is the best way to preserve Esprit's strong profits while his management team figures out the U.S. retail scene. "People have lost their pants" in the U.S., he says. "You don't do a marathon if you have the flu."

It could take five years, Krogner says, for Esprit to gain traction in the U.S. market. But he's starting to see some positive results. U.S. sales surged 83% in the first half of the 2005-06 fiscal year. "Why shouldn't we make it in America?" he asks. "It's our home." Or at least it was. —With reporting by Kathleen Kingsbury/New York

**Esprit displays its new fast-fashion look at one of its New York City stores**

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Rancher Darnell shares his once bucolic land in northeastern Wyoming with an oil-pump jack

THE RUSH FOR OIL FLOODS WYOMING WITH JOBS, BUT IS IT ALSO SPOILING THE LAND?

# Bittersweet Boom

BY LISA  
TAKEUCHI  
CULLEN

A THIRD-GENERATION RANCHER ON THE WINDSWEEPED prairies of eastern Wyoming, Frank Eathorne doesn't have much time or use for complaining. But one day this spring, he drove 80 miles in his GMC

truck with a BUSH-CHENEY bumper sticker to do just that. It wasn't that he minded the oil-and-gas boom currently flooding the state with jobs and royalties. The problem, he told a government panel in a hotel ballroom in Casper, is that the rush to drill in Wyoming is swiping the land right out from under its people.

"When my grandfather bought this place, he thought he owned it," Eathorne said. "He found out later he only owned the grass."

Like many landowners in the mineral-rich states of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico and Montana, Eathorne owns the rights to only the surface of his 32,000 acres; the Federal Government owns most of what lies beneath. Washington, increasingly eager to find domestic sources of energy, is leasing the subsurface rights of those so-called split estates at an unprecedented pace to energy companies. Wyoming's abundance of gas reserves makes it especially attractive. The state's citizens have lived through energy booms—and busts—before. But while oil and gas jobs came and went, the ranch remained. This time, ranchers say, the boom risks ruining the land that has always sustained them for the easy-come, easy-go riches below.

When the oilmen first called years

ago, Eathorne, 66, never dreamed that the rolling grasslands his family has owned since 1944 would one day sprout 40 oil wells, 80 miles of pipeline and three railroad tracks. In recent years, he has set some house rules. In a "surface-use agreement," he stipulated that the workers leave their dogs at home so they wouldn't harass his 1,000 sheep and 500 head of cattle. But he and his wife had to build a new house on the far corner of the property to get away from the noise. They are paid for their troubles—\$1,500 a month for damages and \$400 a year in royalties for their fractional share of mineral rights. But the checks do little to restore Eathorne's sense of peace. "Until the oil companies came along, we thought it was our land," he says. "It wouldn't hurt my feelings if they just went away."

Eathorne's situation is a dark side of an oil boom that has otherwise re-

energized the state's economy. Last year, as energy companies swarmed the state, Wyoming produced nearly double the natural gas it did 10 years ago. Even its production of oil, which had been ebbing, is expected to rise this year. More rigs are operating in Wyoming today than at any other time in the past 20 years, and revenue from mineral royalties and taxes topped \$1.6 billion in 2005, pumping state budgets with cash. In Casper, the state's energy-industry hub, a 36-hole public golf course, a gleaming pool and river walks opened recently to serve its 50,000 residents. A new hospital and courthouse are under consideration.

The boom tastes especially sweet to the thousands of roustabouts, roughnecks and pumpers who are now gainfully employed. Jobs in Wyoming's mining sector, which includes oil, gas and coal production, are growing at about 15% a year—three times as fast as any other category, according to the state's department of employment. And the jobs are good ones. The average salary in the mining sector, which now employs 1 in 10 of Wyoming's workers, is \$61,000, double that in other industries. An oil-field worker, or roughneck, can often earn \$90,000.

Like any boomtown, Wyoming has its share of worried citizens. Violent crime and drug use are up; methamphetamine-related arrests soared sevenfold from

## Energy

**"MANY LANDOWNERS DIDN'T EVEN KNOW THEY OWNED SPLIT ESTATES—UNTIL THE OILMAN SHOWED UP."**

—JILL MORRISON



Government grants provide money to train oil- and gas-field workers to fill abundant jobs

1992 to 2004. Critics blame the rise in part on the influx of oil-industry workers, 1 in 5 of whom come from out of state. The population of mule deer around Jonah Field, a heavily drilled gas reserve in the west, has fallen by half over the past three years. New drilling techniques are producing enormous amounts of wastewater—just one reason environmentalists like Jill Morrison of the Powder River Basin Resource Council predict, “We’re going to be paying for all this for a long, long time.”

But few battles resonate with the Wyomingite more deeply than the one between landowners and energy producers. Split estates were set up by the Homestead Act of 1916 to let the Federal Government retain the rights to the coal, gas and oil in certain Western states while still encouraging farmers and ranchers to settle there. “The idea was to prevent landowners from selling over to mineral companies” and creating corporate monopolies, says Melinda Harm Benson of the Ruckelshaus Institute of Environment and Natural Resources at the University of Wyoming. The U.S. thus owns the mineral rights under 48% of the private land in Wyoming.

Owning a split estate didn’t much concern Wyoming ranchers until the current oil boom. “Many landowners didn’t even know they owned split estates—until the oilman showed up at their door,” says Morrison, who lives in the mineral-rich Powder River Basin in the north. Two years ago, two energy companies notified her friend Steve Adami of

their intent to drill on his 5,000 acres in Buffalo. When he refused, they simply “bonded on”—the energy companies’ practice of posting a bond required by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), after which they can legally exercise their leased mineral rights. The size of the bond posted for use of 1,280 acres: \$2,176, of which Adami has not seen a penny. “To get the money, I have to sue,” says Adami, 51, whose ancestors were Wyoming sharecroppers. “That won’t even cover my attorney’s fees.” He seethes at the 16 wells and miles of trenches that render a large parcel of his land unsuitable for grazing his 180 head of cattle.

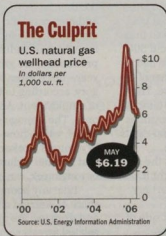
The bureau, a division of the Department of the Interior, leases the rights by auction to such energy producers as BP America and Anadarko. But state officials say the agency is handing out leases too quickly, favoring the interests of oil and gas companies over those of citizens. (Many point out that Halliburton—former employer of native son Dick Cheney—is a major player in oil-field services.) Urged by the Bush Administration, the bureau approved four times as many applications to drill on public lands in five Western states in fiscal 2004 as it did five years earlier.

Those who run Wyoming tread a fine line, reveling in the boom’s economic boost to

the state but mindful of the growing unrest among residents. State politicians helped landowners win a key battle last year when they passed a law that in essence stripped mineral-rights owners of their historically dominant status. Before the law, nothing forbade energy companies to drill and produce on land without so much as notifying or paying damages to its surface owner. But even that measure of protection is at risk in a political scuffle between Wyoming and federal authorities. In a letter to the Wyoming Oil and Gas Conservation Commission, Kathleen Clarke, the BLM’s director, indicated that federal rules trumped the state law that Wyoming had just passed. Clarke promised to work closely with the state “to ensure fair protection of surface-owner interests.” Governor Dave Freudenthal, a Democrat up for re-election in November, says that isn’t enough. “What the BLM is doing at the national level is rattling a saber, sending a signal that companies do not have to comply,” he tells TIME. “But we will enforce.”

Even if that protection holds up, it may not be enough to restore what many ranchers have already lost. Donley Damell, 58, owner of 64,000 acres of ranch land near Newcastle in northeastern Wyoming, appreciates the royalty checks he gets, but he doesn’t see why Wyoming’s landowners should subsidize the energy industry for a few thousand dollars a year. And come the next bust, those payments may vanish instantly. The scars on their land won’t.

—With reporting by Rita Healy/Casper







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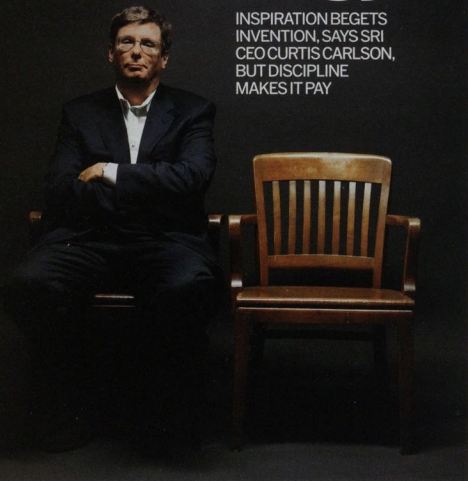
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## Change Agent

## Creatology

INSPIRATION BEGETS INVENTION, SAYS SRI CEO CURTIS CARLSON, BUT DISCIPLINE MAKES IT PAY



BY  
UNMESH  
KHERR

INNOVATION IS AN EVOCATIVE WORD. BUT THE image it most frequently conjures—a lone, sleep-deprived genius slaving away in a cluttered garage—is also the most misleading. In reality, says SRI International CEO Curtis Carlson, “you can invent by yourself, but you can’t innovate that way.” He ought to know. For six decades, SRI, based in Menlo Park, Calif., has endured as a prolific incubator of money-minting ideas, playing a key role in creating

everything from the computer mouse to the HDTV standard, which Carlson helped develop. Over the past 20 years, Carlson has searched SRI and countless corporations for the best practices of innovation. Now he has, with William Wilnot, director of the Collaboration Institute, laid all that learning

down in a book, *Innovation: The Five Disciplines for Creating What Customers Want*.

Rapid, consistent innovation, the authors find, arises only from a highly disciplined process. Most executives, they say, don’t get that. So, what are the five disciplines? For starters, pick important, not

**Carlson says you should be able to explain an idea for innovation in a couple of minutes**

merely interesting problems. Douglas Engelbart, the SRI engineer who invented the computer mouse and hypertext, had his team aim to “make the world a better place by augmenting and extending human intellect.” Such outrageous ambition yielded the foundations of personal computing.

Next, assess each innovation for its value to customers. Obvious? Sure, but most new consumer products fail because nobody wants them. Carlson says the idea of value has moved beyond cost and quality to include such abstractions as convenience and conscience. Apple CEO Steve Jobs, for example, quickly recognized that the iPod would address the crucial consumer needs of simplicity and portability.

Thus innovators must master a value proposition: a crisp description of the problem their concept addresses, the distinguishing features of their approach, that approach’s cost benefits and the reasons it is better than ones taken by competitors. The proposition doesn’t just hone the pitch; it also aligns product development. Yet no matter how compelling that proposition is, innovation is a frustrating business. Hence the third discipline: the appointment of a champion who is insanely committed to the project. “We have a saying at SRI,” says Carlson.

**“IF YOU DON’T INNOVATE FAST IN TODAY’S WORLD, YOU WILL GO AWAY VERY, VERY QUICKLY.”**

—CURTIS CARLSON

“No champion, no project, no exception.”

The two final disciplines require building teams and doing so across organizations. Carlson finds that effective teams succeed by continually sharing, implementing and improving ideas. That iterative process, used by Engelbart, is employed on a far larger scale by firms like Google, which publishes beta versions of its new products and feeds consumer responses into development. Building these disciplines into an organization isn’t easy, but Carlson notes that the effort would at least be well grounded. “If you’re teaching executives creativity and teamwork by having them build paper planes and sending them on rafting trips,” he says, “there’s something profoundly wrong with your organization.” ■

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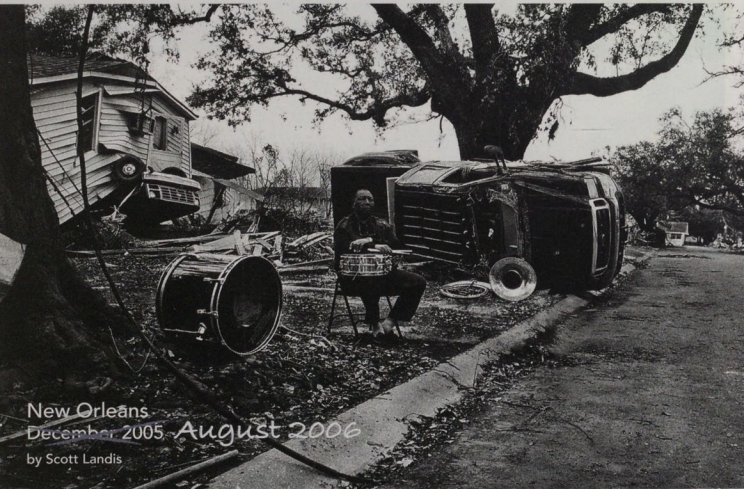
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# America is better than this...



New Orleans  
December 2005 - August 2006

by Scott Landis

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# How I Did on the SAT

In 2003 I predicted dire consequences from a massive test redesign. What I got right—and wrong

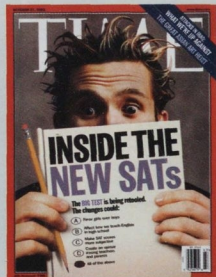
By JOHN CLOUD

THE NEW SAT SCORES ARE OUT, AND buried in them is a sign of hope for American education. True, the scores are actually a bit lower than last year's; the combined average for the SAT's math and reading sections fell 7 points, to 1021, the biggest single-year decrease since 1975, when the score dropped 16 points, to 1010. But statistically speaking, a 7-point decline (out of a possible 1600 on those two sections) isn't much. It's less than the value of a single question, which is about 10 points. Also, the SAT was radically changed last year. The College Board made it longer and added Algebra II, more grammar and an essay. Fewer kids wanted to take the new 3-hr. 45-min. test more than once, so fewer had an opportunity to improve their performance. Scores were bound to slide.

But tucked into the reams of data the College Board included with the new scores was some wonderful news: I was wrong. In 2003 I spent six months tracking the development of the new SAT. I sat through hours of test-development sessions and even learned how to grade SAT essays. TIME ran my resulting story on its cover that October.

The story did make some predictions that turned out to be right. For instance, the new test favors girls more than the old one did. It is a long-standing tenet of testmaking that girls outperform boys on writing exams. For reasons I am not foolish enough to speculate about in print, girls are better than boys at fixing grammar and constructing essays, so the addition of a third SAT section, on writing, was almost certain to shrink the male-female score gap. It did. Girls trounced boys on the new writing section, 502 to 491. Boys still outscored girls overall, thanks largely to boys' 536 average on the math section, compared with girls' 502. But boys now lead on the reading section by just 3 points, 505 to 502; the gap was 8 points last year. What changed? The new test has no analogies ("bird is to nest" as "dog is to doghouse"), and boys usually clobbered girls on analogies.

My story also predicted that the addition of the writing section would damage the SAT's reliability. Reliability is a measure of how similar a test's results are from one sitting to the next. The pre-2005 SAT had a stan-



## AN SAT QUIZ

TIME's October 2003 cover story (available at [time.com](http://time.com)) about the new SAT made several big predictions about how kids would perform on the test. Did we make the grade?

Does the new test favor girls?

☒ YES ☐ NO

Is the grading of the test more subjective?

☒ YES ☐ NO

Do the essay readers reward formulaic writing over original voices?

☒ YES ☐ NO

Does the new test hurt disadvantaged children?

☐ YES ☒ NO

dard error of measurement of about 30 points per section. In other words, if you got a 500 on the math section, your "true" score was anywhere between 470 and 530. But the new writing section, which includes not only a multiple-choice grammar segment but also the subjective essay, has a standard error of measurement of 40 points. That means a kid who gets a 760 in writing may actually be a perfect 800—or a clever-but-no-genius

720. In short, the College Board sacrificed some reliability in order to include writing.

Finally, I was right about one other thing: that the graders would reward formulaic, colorless writing over sharp young voices. The average essay score for kids who wrote in the first person was 6.9, compared with 7.2 for those who didn't. (A 1-to-12 scale is used to grade essays. That score is then combined with the score on the grammar questions and translated into the familiar 200 to 800 points.) As my editors know well, first-person writing can flop.

But the College Board is now distributing a guide called "20 Outstanding SAT Essays"—all of them perfect scores—and many are unbearably mechanical and clichéd ("smooth sailing always comes after the storm"; "they say that history repeats itself").

Still, there's good news. The central contention of my 2003 story was that the SAT's shift from an abstract-reasoning test to a test of classroom material like Algebra II would hurt kids from failing schools. I was worried that the most vulnerable students would struggle on the new version. Instead, the very poorest children—those from families earning less than \$20,000 a year—improved their SAT performance this year. It was a modest improvement (just 3 points) but significant, given the overall slump in scores. And noncitizen residents and refugees saw their scores rise an impressive 13 points. It was middle-class and rich kids who account for the much reported decline.

What explains those wonderfully unpredictable findings? The College Board has no firm answers, but its top researcher, Wayne Camara, suggests a (somewhat self-serving) theory: the new SAT is less coachable. When designing the new test, the board banned analogies and "quantitative comparisons" (flummoxing math questions that asked you to compare two complex quantities). "I think those items disadvantaged students who did not have the resources, the motivation, the awareness to figure out how to approach them," says Camara. "By eliminating those, the test becomes much less about strategy." Because it focuses more on what high schools teach and less on tricky reasoning questions, the SAT is now more, not less, egalitarian.

Sometimes it's nice to be wrong. ■

# Snooping Bosses

Think your employer is checking your e-mail, Web searches and voice mail? You're probably right

By KRISTINA DELL and  
LISA TAKEUCHI CULLEN

**W**HEN ONE OF HIS EMPLOYEES phoned in sick last year, Scott McDonald, CEO of Monument Security in Sacramento, Calif., decided to investigate. He had already informed his staff of 400 security guards and patrol drivers that he was installing Xora, a software program that tracks workers' whereabouts through GPS technology on their company cell phones. A Web-based "geo-fence" around work territories would alert the boss if workers strayed or even drove too fast. It also enabled him to route workers more efficiently. So when McDonald logged on, the program told him exactly where his worker was—and it wasn't in bed with the snuffles. "How come you're eastbound on 80 heading to Reno right now if you're sick?" asked the boss. There was a long silence—the sound of a job ending—followed by, "You got me."

For every employer who lets his staff know they're on watch, there are plenty who snoop on the sly. A general manager at a computer outfit in the Northeast wondered about a worker's drop-off in productivity. Using software called SurfControl, the manager saw the man was spending an inordinate amount of time at an innocently named website. It turned out to feature hard-core porn. The worker was conducting market research for his escort service, a venture for which he soon had plenty of time

after he got canned. "I don't give a rat's rear what they do at home," says the manager, who wishes to keep his and his company's name private. "But what they do at work is all my business."

Learn that truth, and learn it well: what you do at work is the boss's business. Xora and SurfControl are just some of the new technologies from a host of companies that have sprung up in the past two years peddling products and services—software, GPS, video and phone surveillance, even investigators—that let managers get to know you *really* well. The worst mole sits right on

your desk. Your computer can be rigged to lock down work files, restrict Web searches and flag e-mailed jokes about the CEO's wife.

"Virtually nothing you do at work on a computer can't be monitored," says Jeremy Gruber, legal director of the National Work-rights Institute, which advocates workplace privacy. Nine out of 10 employers observe your electronic behavior, according to the Center for Business Ethics at Bentley College. A study by the American Management Association and the ePolicy Institute found 76% of employers watch you surf the Web and 36% track content,







keystrokes and time spent at the keyboard. If that isn't creepy enough, 38% hire staff to sift through your e-mail. And they act on that knowledge. A June survey by Forrester Research and Proofpoint found that 32% of employers fired workers over the previous 12 months for violating e-mail policies by sending content that posed legal, financial, regulatory or p.r. risks.

You might think the sheer volume of e-mail would mean you could get away with a crack about the boss's Viagra use. But sophisticated software helps employers, including Merrill Lynch and Boeing,

naïf folks who traffic in trade secrets or sexist jokes. One called Palisade can recognize data in varying forms, like the content of NFL playbooks, and block them from your Out box. SurfControl, MessageGate and Workshare check work files and e-mail against a list of keywords, such as the CEO's name, a company's products or four-letter words. Wall Street and law firms sometimes block access at work to personal accounts like Google's Gmail.

You can't really blame companies for watching our Web habits, since 45% of us admit that surfing is our favorite time

waster, according to a joint survey by Salary.com and AOL. A Northeast technology company found that several employees who frequently complained of overwork spent all day on MySpace.com. Information-technology departments routinely receive automatic Web reports on what sites employees visit; they tend to review them only if there's a red flag.

Computers aren't the only office snitches. Slightly more than half of employees surveyed monitor how much time their employees spend on the phone, and even track calls—up from 9% in 2001. Companies are required to inform every non-employee that they're listening in, which is why you hear, "This call is being monitored for quality assurance." But there's no such protection for staff members. Bosses monitor calls with programs like Nice Systems', which sends an alert if your voice reaches a certain decibel level or you blurt out profane language or a competitor's name.

You might want to stay on your best behavior even off the clock. Programs like Verified Person keep tabs on employees outside the office with ongoing background checks. Got busted for DUI last week? The boss will find out. And what you do on the Internet at home is no secret either. After Penelope Trunk won an award for writing about sex online, her blushing employer asked her to start using a pseudonym. At the travel sector of one corporation, a manager's spouse was surfing the Net and found a photo album with the company's name on a picture-sharing site. The photos documented a training session, after which co-workers progressed to inebriated nakedness. Because a worker posted the pictures without consent, he was fired. "If you'd be embarrassed that your mom saw it, don't post it," advises Kevin Kraham, a law partner at Ford & Harrison.

Bloggers, be careful. Workers at Google, Delta Airlines and Microsoft have claimed their blogs got them fired. But with more than 50 million blogs out there, employers like Microsoft train new hires on blog etiquette. Curt Hopkins of Ashland, Ore., says a public radio station cut short a job interview after the boss read his blog; he was later hired by the Oregon Shakespeare Festival to "build buzz online." Trunk, who now blogs about workplace issues on Brazen Careerist, says telling young workers not to blog is like telling a baby boomer not to use the phone. "When major corporations try too hard to block the electronic community," she says, "Generation Y just leaves."

The Facebook set may not like it, but courts are mostly giving the O.K. to corpo-

# How You Can Stay out of Trouble

rate spying. "I haven't seen one case where an employee has won on a right-of-privacy claim," says Anthony Oncidi, head of the labor and employment department at law firm Proskauer Rose. Companies can ward off privacy claims if they have informed staff members they're being monitored, even if only in a single sentence in a rarely read handbook. Even when there is no advance notice, workplace-privacy claims have proved hard to win. Only two states (Connecticut and Delaware) require bosses to tell workers they're being monitored, but even in those places, there aren't restrictions on spying.

Businesses argue that their snooping is justified. Not only are they trying to guard trade secrets and intellectual property, but they also must ensure that workers comply with government regulations, such as keeping medical records and credit-card numbers private. And companies are liable for allowing a hostile work environment—say, one filled with porn-filled computer screens—that may lead to lawsuits. "People write very loosely with their e-mails, but they can unintentionally reach thousands, like posters throughout a work site," says Charles Spearman of diversity-management consultants Tucker Spearman & Associates. "In an investigation, that e-mail can be one of the most persuasive pieces of evidence." In fact, a ruling in New Jersey last year found an employer had a duty to investigate an employee's viewing of child pornography and report it to the police.

The monitoring trend could get even more Orwellian. In *Thompson v. Johnson County Community College* in Oklahoma, the court held that employees had no expectation of privacy in a locker room because the room had pipes that required occasional maintenance. (The need to service the pipes was enough for the court to let the employer use video surveillance.) The wave of the future seems to be radio-frequency identification, a transmitter smaller than a dime that can be embedded in anything from ID cards to key fobs to hospital bracelets (to safeguard newborns, for instance). Now consider Compliance Control's HyGenius system, which detects restaurant employees' hand-washing and soap usage with wireless communication from clothing tags. Skip the soap, and you are in hot water.

Think that's invasive? At Citywatcher, a Cincinnati, Ohio, company that provides video surveillance to police, some workers volunteered to have ID chips embedded in their forearms last June. No more worries about lost or stolen ID cards, the employer claimed. Sure. No more privacy either. ■

Everything that happens at work can be your boss's business. Keep that in mind the next time you're tempted to vent via e-mail or forward an off-color joke. Innocent words today could make good legal evidence tomorrow. Here are some precautions to take against snooping supervisors.



## 1. KNOW YOUR COMPANY'S POLICIES

It sounds obvious, but few people bother to read through their employee handbook, where the fine print is located. Note how long your job saves business records. "Before using a new technology, think about whether [usage or content] could violate a work policy," says Nancy Flynn, executive director of ePolicy Institute. Companies are starting to put restrictions on text messaging, camera phones and software downloads.

## 2. SURF THE WEB SPARINGLY

Web surfing equals time wasting to most companies, so keep those ESPN.com hits to a minimum. Don't leave your Hotmail window open for hours, even if it's idle. Anyone monitoring your Web activity may think you spent all day e-mailing your friends and relatives. Delete your Web history from the preferences page, and never update your MySpace page at work—because work is the boss's space.

## 3. HIT TWICE BEFORE YOU THINK "SEND"

E-mails get forwarded, they can lack subtlety, and they're a written record. Be careful! Limit personal use of your

work account, and erase all personal mail at the end of each day. While it's likely to be archived, your employer would have to work harder to retrieve it. Avoid using your boss's name or other terms snooping software might be searching for.

## 4. PROOFREAD PROFILES

Treat blogs and online profiles (even e-mails) as you would a résumé: check for spelling and grammar mistakes. "Be careful any time you leave a written record," says Flynn. "Once it's in writing, you're not getting it back, since posts are forwarded and linked to all over the Web." Never use your company's name or logo without permission. Blog postings should avoid hot-button topics like politics and religion. And skip items that could leave a bad impression, like your college beer-pong championship.

## 5. SNAIL-MAIL YOUR RESUME

Be careful e-mailing your résumé as a Word document, since programs like Workshare let employers view earlier edits made to electronic drafts that could show mistakes or inflated language. If you must e-mail, disable the "track changes" feature in Word

and cut and paste it into a new document, or use Workshare yourself to wipe older versions.

## 6. HOLD YOUR TONGUE

Don't leave voice mails you wouldn't want your boss to hear. Some companies archive voice messages, often turning them into data files. Voice mail is particularly revealing at a trial because the jury can hear, for instance, if you laughed after insulting a co-worker. "It's a smoking gun," says Flynn.

## 7. FORWARD WITH CARE

Delete raunchy jokes. Once you forward them, you put yourself in the mix, and some companies have treated those employees more harshly than the ones who simply opened them.

## 8. USE PASSWORDS

They help ensure that no one can hijack your computer to do Internet searches or send e-mail attributed to you. Do the same for pictures you send and receive at work. Passwords don't mean a higher expectation of privacy; they just make posts more secure.

## 9. NO PORN AT WORK

Enough said. Yes, we know: you go to Playboy.com for the articles. —K.D.

BASED ON THE 9/11 COMMISSION REPORT



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# Mercury Rising

The toxic metal isn't just in seafood. It's showing up everywhere—and it's more dangerous than you think

By JEFFREY KLUGER

## INDUSTRIAL POLLUTION ...

**1** Coal-burning power plants are a primary source of atmospheric mercury. As particles, the mercury falls to earth quickly. But as an aerosol, it can drift across continents

**E**NVIRONMENTAL POISONS NEVER play by the rules. Just when you think you've got them figured out and rounded up, they give you the slip. Get the lead out of gasoline, and it comes at you through aging pipes. Bury waste and toxins in landfills, and they seep into groundwater. Mercury, at least, we thought we understood. For all its toxic power, as long as we avoided certain kinds of fish in which contamination levels were particularly high, we'd be fine. And not even everyone had to be careful, just children and women of childbearing age.

But mercury is famously slippery stuff, and a series of recent studies and surveys suggests that the potentially deadly metal is nearly everywhere—and more dangerous than most of us appreciated. Researchers testing birds in the Northeast have found creeping mercury levels in the blood of more

than 175 once clean species. Others have found the metal for the first time in polar bears, bats, mink, otters, panthers and more.

Just as alarming are new discoveries about unexpected sources of mercury contamination. While coal-fired power plants and chemical factories are familiar culprits, a recent study reveals that wetlands are mercury time bombs; if hit by wildfire, they release centuries' worth of accumulated toxin in a single, sudden blaze. In addition, there's a growing body of research that reveals the extent to which medium to high levels of exposure to the metal can harm adults as well as children, causing a wide range of ills—including fatigue, tremors, vision disorders and brain, kidney and circulatory damage. All told, "the breadth of the problem has expanded greatly," says biologist David Evers of the BioDiversity Research Institute in Gorham, Maine. "It's far more prevalent and at higher levels than considered even a couple years ago."

Mercury has to work hard to do all the

## ... THAT POISONS AQUATIC LIFE ...

**2** When mercury washes into waterways or falls into oceans, bacteria transforms it into highly toxic methylmercury. Moving up the food chain, that contamination eventually threatens humans



Plankton

### BIOMAGNIFICATION

At the bottom of the food chain, plankton, shellfish and small baitfish such as anchovies or sardines often have barely measurable concentrations of mercury

Shellfish

Baitfish

Swordfish



damage it does. In its pure state, it is only moderately toxic because it passes quickly through the body, leaving little to be absorbed. Not so the mercury we pump into the skies. Smokestack mercury exists in either particle form—which falls relatively quickly back to earth—or aerosol form, which can travel anywhere around the globe. Either way, when it lands, trouble begins. On the ground or especially in the low-oxygen environment of the oceans, mercury is consumed by bacteria that add a bit of carbon to convert it to methylmercury, a metabolically stickier form that stays in the body a long time. That is bad news for the food chain, since every time a bigger animal eats a smaller animal, it consumes a heavy dose of its prey's mercury load. That's why such large predatory fish as shark, swordfish, mackerel, tilefish and albacore tuna are so heavily contaminated. Less publicized but still problematic is toxic mercury vapor, which can be odorlessly emitted from factories and dumps where batteries, fluorescent lamps, jewelry, paints, electrical switches and other mercury-containing products are manufactured or discarded.

All that has been known for a while, but the game changer was the recent study of Northeastern songbirds. A group headed by Evers had been worried for some time that mercury's reach was greater than it seemed, particularly in the

## ... IS NOW SPREADING TO LAND ANIMALS

**3** Scientists are finding mercury where they didn't expect to, like in songbirds that feed on contaminated insects

As more wetlands dry out—perhaps as a result of global warming—they become more susceptible to wildfires. Those blazes release hundreds of years' worth of mercury that precipitated from the atmosphere and became chemically bonded to the peat



Bicknell's Thrush



But each time a larger fish consumes its prey, those small doses of mercury lodge in its tissues

Mackerel

At the higher end of the food chain, fish such as mackerel, albacore tuna, swordfish and shark can have thousands of times more mercury than sardines or shellfish can

Humans can avoid contaminated fish, but other animals can't. Mercury concentrations have been found in bald eagles, loons, mink, otters and alligators

Striped Bass

TIME Graphic by Ed Gabel

Sources: Environmental Protection Agency; Food and Drug Administration; United States Geological Survey

Northeast, which is downwind from the power plants of the Midwest and Canada. Mercury from those plants' smokestacks could find plenty of bacteria in water, leaves and soil to make the toxic conversion to methylmercury. Netting 178 species of songbirds and testing their blood and feathers, Evers found that all of them were indeed contaminated, some in concentrations exceeding 0.1 parts per million. That doesn't sound like much, but it's a lot higher than it ought to be, and it's surely on the rise. So far, the toxin hasn't disrupted the birds' reproductive cycle, but researchers fear that it will before long. What's more, if the birds are contaminated, so are other animals that eat the same diet—not to mention predators that eat the birds. Says Evers: "It creeps up the food chain and continues to biomagnify as it goes."

The wetlands study darkened the picture further. Marshes in Alaska and northern Canada are natural sinks for mercury, which chemically adheres to damp peat and readily converts to the methyl form. That is not a problem as long as the mercury stays put. But increasingly frequent droughts—a likely consequence of global warming—have led to increasingly frequent wildfires, causing wetlands to release centuries' worth of collected mercury in one toxic breath. "There's mercury that's been accumulating since the dawn of the Industrial Revolution," says ecosystems ecologist Merritt Turetsky of Michigan State University, who has been studying the problem. "During droughts, you get a meter-thick carpet of dry peat in some places, and all you need then is a match. Lightning usually provides that."

As global mercury levels rise, more and more species are being affected. A recent study by investigators at Denmark's Natural Environmental Research Institute showed that mercury measurable in the fur of Greenland polar bears is 11 times higher than it was in baseline pelts preserved from as early as the 14th century. This fall the National Wildlife Federation will release a survey of more than 65 recently published studies showing elevated mercury in more than 40 species, many of which had been thought to be in little danger. Some, including common loons and bald eagles, are already showing signs of behavioral and reproductive changes associated with mercury poisoning.

Cleaning up the mess is the responsibility of the species that made it, and that job starts with coal. The 440 coal-fired power plants in the U.S. produce about 48 tons of mercury a year—40% of the nation's total output, by some estimates. The Clinton Administration did not attack the problem until its final year, when it issued a proposal that would have required a 90% cut in power-plant mercury by 2008. President George W. Bush has discarded the Clinton rule in favor of a looser standard that would result in only a 70% reduction by as late as 2025. What's more, Bush weakened the Clean Air Act's new-source-review rule, which requires power-plant owners to install the best available pollution controls when they make major upgrades that result in increased emissions.

Lately, however, the courts have been pushing back. In March a federal circuit court in Washington strengthened the new-source-review requirements by refusing to sanction a loophole that the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) had introduced, and last month a circuit court in Chicago forbade a move by the Cinergy power corporation to measure its pollution output hour to hour rather than year to year, because the hourly standard often produces a lower, less accurate reading of emissions. In November the U.S. Supreme Court will address the same measurement question in a case out of North Carolina. All those battles technically address smog and soot, not mercury, but where the first two go, the third follows. "Power plants are the 800-lb. gorilla," says John Walke, a project director with the National Resource Defense Council and a former attorney for the EPA. "Their [mercury] output is extraordinary."

But while much of the environmental mercury in the U.S. comes from power plants, the other dominant source is chlor-alkali plants, which manufacture chemicals used in soaps, detergents and other products. More than 25% of the U.S. total flows in from overseas, particularly from coal-gobbling countries like China. Illinois Senator Barack Obama has proposed two bills to address those problems. One requires the eight chlor-alkali plants in the U.S. that still use mercury to convert to a less toxic alternative by 2012. The other calls for a ban on U.S. exports of mercury starting in 2010—a significant move, since the U.S. sells as much as 300 tons of the metal a year, or 8% of the world's total. More than a dozen state governments across the U.S. are getting ahead of Washington with mercury controls of their own. Foreign governments have also acted. "Europe, Canada, Australia and Japan have been reducing their use of mercury for five to 10 years," says Linda Greer, a member of the EPA's science advisory board.

The good news is, once mercury is removed from circulation, it needn't trouble us again. As long as it's held in double-hulled containers and kept relatively cool to prevent evaporation, it is largely inert. "It's my favorite chemical for what you can finally do with it," says Greer. "It will sit placidly in a warehouse at under 70 degrees." It's a remarkably quiet end for a remarkably dangerous metal—an end that can't be too soon in coming.

—With reporting by  
Coco Masters



#### ▲ CAUSE...

Coal-fired power plants in the U.S. pump out 48 tons of mercury a year

#### ►...AND EFFECT

The Bicknell's thrush is one of 178 songbirds with high mercury levels





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**Important information about ADVAIR.** Prescription ADVAIR won't replace fast-acting inhalers for sudden symptoms and should not be taken more than twice a day. ADVAIR contains salmeterol. In patients with asthma, medicines like salmeterol may increase the chance of asthma-related death. So ADVAIR is not for people whose asthma is well controlled on another controller medicine. Talk to your doctor about the risks and benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR. If you are taking ADVAIR, see your doctor if your asthma does not improve. Tell your doctor if you have a heart condition or high blood pressure. Some people may experience increased blood pressure, heart rate, or changes in heart rhythm. ADVAIR is for patients 4 years and older. For patients 4 to 11 years old, ADVAIR 100/50 is for those who have asthma symptoms while on an inhaled corticosteroid.

\*People ages 12 years and older taking ADVAIR 100/50 experienced improved lung function and asthma symptom scores, and a reduction in fast-acting inhaler use, compared with people taking either fluticasone propionate 100 mcg or salmeterol 50 mcg (inhalation powders) alone.

Please see important information about ADVAIR on the next page.

Results may vary.

# ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50, 250/50, 500/50

(fluticasone propionate 100, 250, 500 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

## What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?

In patients with asthma, long-acting beta<sub>2</sub>-agonist medicines such as salmeterol (one of the medications in ADVAIR) may increase the chance of death from asthma problems. In a large asthma study, more patients who used salmeterol with asthma problems compared with patients who did not use salmeterol. So ADVAIR is not for patients whose asthma is well controlled on another asthma controller medicine such as low- to medium-dose inhaled corticosteroids or only need a fast-acting inhaler once in a while. Talk with your doctor about this risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR.

ADVAIR should not be used to treat a severe attack of asthma or chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) requiring emergency medical treatment.

ADVAIR should not be used to relieve sudden symptoms or sudden breathing problems. Always have a fast-acting inhaler with you to treat sudden breathing difficulty. If you do not have a fast-acting inhaler, contact your doctor to have one prescribed for you.

## What is ADVAIR DISKUS?

There are two medicines in ADVAIR: Fluticasone propionate, an inhaled anti-inflammatory belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as corticosteroids; and salmeterol, a long-acting, inhaled bronchodilator belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as beta<sub>2</sub>-agonists. There are 3 strengths of ADVAIR: 100/50, 250/50, 500/50.

## For Asthma

- ADVAIR is approved for the maintenance treatment of asthma in patients 4 years of age and older. ADVAIR should only be used if your doctor decides that another asthma controller medicine alone does not control your asthma or if you need 2 asthma controller medications.
- The strength of ADVAIR approved for patients ages 4 to 11 years who experience symptoms on an inhaled corticosteroid is ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50. All 3 strengths are approved for patients with asthma ages 12 years and older.

## For COPD associated with chronic bronchitis

ADVAIR 250/50 is the only approved dose for the maintenance treatment of airflow obstruction in patients with COPD associated with chronic bronchitis. The benefit of using ADVAIR for longer than 6 months has not been evaluated. The way anti-inflammatory medicines work in the treatment of COPD is not well defined.

## Who should not take ADVAIR DISKUS?

You should not start ADVAIR if your asthma is becoming significantly or rapidly worse, which can be life threatening. Serious respiratory events, including death, have been reported in patients who started taking salmeterol in this situation, although it is not possible to tell whether salmeterol contributed to these events. This may also occur in patients with less severe asthma.

You should not take ADVAIR if you have had an allergic reaction to it or any of its components (salmeterol, fluticasone propionate, or lactose). Tell your doctor if you are allergic to ADVAIR, any other medications, or food products. If you experience an allergic reaction after taking ADVAIR, stop using ADVAIR immediately and contact your doctor. Allergic reactions that you experience one or more of the following: chocking; breathing problems; swelling of the face, mouth and/or tongue; rash; hives; itching; or welts on the skin.

## Tell your doctor about the following:

- If you are using your fast-acting inhaler more often or for more time than you normally do (e.g., 4 or more inhalations of your fast-acting inhaler for 2 or more minutes in a row or a whole canister of your fast-acting inhaler in 8 weeks' time), it could be a sign that your asthma is getting worse. If this occurs, tell your doctor immediately.
- If you have been using your fast-acting inhaler regularly (e.g., four times a day), your doctor may tell you to stop the regular use of these medications.
- If your peak flow meter results decrease. Your doctor will tell you the numbers that are right for you.
- If you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAIR regularly for 1 week.
- If you have been on oral steroids, like prednisone, and are now using ADVAIR. You should be very careful as you may be less able to heal after surgery, infection, or serious injury. It takes a number of months for the body to recover its ability to make its own steroid hormones after use of oral steroids. Switching from an oral steroid may also unmask a condition previously suppressed by the oral steroid such as allergies, conjunctivitis, eczema, arthritis, and eosinophilic conditions. Symptoms of an eosinophilic condition can include rash, worsening breathing problems, heart complications, and/or feeling of "pins and needles" or numbness in the arms and legs. Talk to your doctor immediately if you experience any of these symptoms.
- Sometimes patients experience unexpected bronchospasm right after taking ADVAIR. This condition can be life threatening and if it occurs, you should immediately stop using ADVAIR and seek immediate medical attention.
- If you have any type of heart disease such as coronary artery disease, irregular heart beat or high blood pressure, ADVAIR should be used with caution. Be sure to talk with your doctor about your condition because salmeterol, one of the components of ADVAIR, may affect the heart by increasing heart rate and blood pressure. It may cause symptoms such as heart fluttering, chest pain, rapid heart rate, tremor, or nervousness.
- If you have seizures, overactive thyroid gland, liver problems, or are sensitive to certain medications for breathing.
- If your breathing problems get worse over time or if your fast-acting inhaler does not work as well for you while using ADVAIR. If your breathing problems worsen quickly, get emergency medical care.
- If you have been exposed to or currently have chickenpox or measles or if you have an immune system problem. Patients using medications that weaken the immune system are more likely to get infections than healthy individuals. ADVAIR contains a corticosteroid (fluticasone propionate) which may weaken the immune system. Infections like chickenpox and measles, for example, can be very serious or even fatal in susceptible patients using corticosteroids.

## How should I take ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR should be used 1 inhalation, twice a day (morning and evening). ADVAIR should never be taken more than 1 inhalation twice a day. The full benefit of taking ADVAIR may take 1 week or longer.

If you miss a dose of ADVAIR, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take two doses at one time.

Do not stop using ADVAIR unless told to do so by your doctor because your symptoms might get worse.

Do not change or stop any of your medicines used to control or treat your breathing problems. Your doctor will adjust your medicines as needed.

## When using ADVAIR, remember:

- Never breathe into or take the DISKUS® apart.
- Always use the DISKUS in a level position.
- After each inhalation, rinse your mouth with water without swallowing.
- Never wash any part of the DISKUS. Always keep it in a dry place.
- Never take an extra dose, even if you feel you did not receive a dose.
- Discard 1 month after removal from the foil overwrap.
- Do not use ADVAIR with a spacer device.

Children should use ADVAIR with an adult's help as instructed by the child's doctor.

## Can I take ADVAIR DISKUS with other medications?

Tell your doctor about all the medications you take, including prescription and nonprescription medications, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

If you are taking ADVAIR, you should not take SEREVENT® DISKUS or Foradil® Aerolizer® for any reason.

If you take ritonavir (an HIV medication), tell your doctor. Ritonavir may interact with ADVAIR and could cause serious side effects. The anti-HIV medicines Norvir® Soft Gelatin Capsules, Norvir Oral Solution, and Kaletra® contain ritonavir.

No formal drug interaction studies have been performed with ADVAIR.

In clinical studies, there were no differences in effects on the heart when ADVAIR was taken with varying amounts of alcohol. The effect of using ADVAIR in patients with asthma while taking more than 9 puffs a day of albuterol has not been studied.

ADVAIR should be used with extreme caution during and up to 2 weeks after treatment with monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitors or tryptophan antidepressants since these medications can cause ADVAIR to have an even greater effect on the circulatory system.

ADVAIR should be used with caution in people who are taking teicoplanin (an antifungal medication) or other drugs broken down by the body in a similar way. These medications can cause ADVAIR to have greater steroid side effects.

Generally, people with asthma should not take beta-blockers because they counteract the effects of beta<sub>2</sub>-agonists and may also cause severe bronchospasm. However, in some cases, for instance, following a heart attack, selective beta-blockers may still be used if there is no acceptable alternative.

The ECG changes or low blood potassium that may occur with some diuretics may be made worse by ADVAIR, especially at higher-than-recommended doses. Caution should be used when these drugs are used together.

In clinical studies, there was no difference in side effects when ADVAIR was taken with methylxanthines (e.g., theophylline) or with FLOMASE®.

## What are other important safety considerations with ADVAIR DISKUS?

**Osteoporosis:** Long-term use of inhaled corticosteroids may result in bone loss (osteoporosis). Patients who are at risk for increased bone loss (tobacco use, advanced age, inactive lifestyle, poor nutrition, family history of osteoporosis, or long-term use of drugs such as corticosteroids) may have a greater risk with ADVAIR. If you have risk factors for bone loss, you should talk to your doctor about ways to reduce your risk and whether you should have your bone density evaluated.

**Glaucoma and cataracts:** Glaucoma, increased pressure in the eyes, and cataracts have been reported with the use of inhaled steroids, including fluticasone propionate, a medicine contained in ADVAIR. Regular eye examinations should be considered if you are taking ADVAIR.

**Lower respiratory tract infection:** Lower respiratory tract infections, including pneumonia, have been reported with the use of inhaled corticosteroids, including ADVAIR.

**Blood sugar:** Salmeterol may affect blood sugar and/or cause low blood potassium in some patients, which could lead to a side effect like an irregular heart rate. Significant changes in blood sugar and blood potassium were seen infrequently in clinical studies with ADVAIR.

**Growth:** Inhaled steroids may cause a reduction in growth velocity in children and adolescents.

**Steroids:** Taking steroids can affect your body's ability to make its own steroid hormones, which are needed during infections and times of severe stress to your body, such as an operation. These effects can sometimes be seen with inhaled steroids (but it is more common with oral steroids), especially when taken at higher-than-recommended doses over a long period of time. In some cases, these effects may be severe. Inhaled-steroids often help control symptoms with less side effects than oral steroids.

**Yeast infections:** Patients taking ADVAIR may develop yeast infections of the mouth and/or throat ("thrush") that should be treated by their doctor.

**Tuberculosis or other untreated infections:** ADVAIR should be used with caution, if at all, in patients with tuberculosis, herpes infections of the eye, or other untreated infections.

## What are the other possible side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR may produce side effects in some patients. In clinical studies, the most common side effects with ADVAIR included:

- |                                |                       |                                    |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| • Respiratory infections       | • Bronchitis          | • Musculoskeletal pain             |
| • Throat irritation            | • Headaches           | • Dizziness                        |
| • Hoarseness                   | • Nausea and vomiting | • Fever                            |
| • Sinus infection              | • Diarrhea            | • Ear, nose, and throat infections |
| • Yeast infection of the mouth |                       | • Nosebleed                        |

Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

## What if I am pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or nursing?

Talk to your doctor about the benefits and risks of using ADVAIR during pregnancy, labor, or if you are nursing. There have been studies of ADVAIR used during pregnancy, labor, or in nursing women. Salmeterol is known to interfere with labor contractions. It is not known whether ADVAIR is excreted in breast milk, but other corticosteroids have been detected in human breast milk. Fluticasone propionate, like other corticosteroids, has been associated with birth defects in animals (e.g., cleft palate and fetal death). Salmeterol showed no effect on fertility in rats at 180 times the maximum recommended daily dose.

## What other important tests were conducted with ADVAIR?

There is no evidence of enhanced toxicity with ADVAIR compared with the components administered separately. In animal studies with doses much higher than those used in humans, salmeterol was associated with uterine tumors. Your healthcare professional can tell you more about how drugs are tested on animals and what the results of these tests may mean to your safety.

## For more information on ADVAIR DISKUS

This page is only a brief summary of important information about ADVAIR DISKUS. For more information, talk to your doctor. You can also visit [www.ADAIR.com](http://www.ADAIR.com) or call 1-888-825-5249. Patients receiving ADVAIR DISKUS should read the medication guide provided by the pharmacist with the prescription.

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# Guess Who's Putting YOU UNDER

A big chunk of surgery is now handled without an anesthesiologist, raising risks for patients

Illustration for TIME by James Steinberg

By MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

**L**AST YEAR DR. RON MILLER WAS IN a hospital pre-op unit doing what he has done every week for more than three decades: administering an anesthetic to a patient headed for surgery. Miller served as an anesthesiologist in the Vietnam War and now chairs the department of anesthesia at the University of California, San Francisco, School of Medicine; it's hard to imagine someone with more experience or better credentials. Even so, he was taken by surprise when he gave a low dose of a moderate sedative called midazolam, designed to put the patient into a semiconscious state, somewhere between sleep and wakefulness—and the man



stopped breathing. "There is no way of predicting that a patient would have responded that way," he says. "I've been doing this for years, so I was prepared." He managed to revive the man.

But just imagine, says Miller, what might have happened if that had taken place outside a hospital, without a trained anesthesiologist present. A decade or two ago, such a scenario would have been far-fetched because most surgery was done in hospital O.R.s.

Not anymore. "What we call outside-the-operating-room anesthesia is exploding," says Dr. Orin Guidry, president of the American Society of Anesthesiologists. It's not that doctors are doing heart bypasses or hip replacements or radical mastectomies on an outpatient basis. "If you're going to take a person apart," says Dr. Warren Zapol, anesthesiologist in chief at Boston's Massachusetts General Hospital, "you need to control the airways, paralyze the muscles and do things that amateurs don't want to do."

But there has been an enormous increase in less drastic procedures. Cardiologists are performing many more angiograms and other invasive tests than they did a couple of decades ago. Plastic surgeons are doing more liposuction procedures and partial face-lifts. Gastroenterologists are doing more colonoscopies and endoscopies—snaking a tube in from one end or the other of the digestive tract to take pictures. "Where 15 years ago endoscopy was a rare procedure," says Guidry, "now everybody's expected to have one periodically. There's tons of stuff that just wasn't done before."

There is simply no way trained anesthesiologists can meet the demand—especially since the increase in surgeries has been accompanied by a simultaneous increase in what anesthesiologists are asked to do. "At UCSF," says Miller, "we manage all of the post-op pain, we run all of the recovery rooms, and we man all of the preoperative evaluative clinics."

That helps explain why, at a rough guess, some doctors estimate that 45% of all sedation today is handled by people other than anesthesiologists. "There are tens of thousands, maybe millions, of sedation procedures done satisfactorily by other physicians," Guidry says. Still, a 2003 study published by Dr. Hector Vila, chief of anesthesiology at the University of South Florida's College of Medicine, showed 10 times the risk of death or permanent injury for surgery performed in doctors' offices rather than in ambulatory surgery centers. The difference, Vila concluded, was largely due to

## HOW ANESTHESIA KNOCKS YOU OUT

Anesthetics are used to block pain and reduce awareness. There are four broad categories, or levels, of anesthesia, but the boundaries between them can be fuzzy, and doctors may combine approaches.



**LOCAL AND REGIONAL ANESTHETICS** block pain with injections into tissue or near nerves (as in an epidural block), but the patient remains alert. Typical drugs: novocaine and lidocaine. This approach is often used for tooth drilling, mole removal, childbirth and knee arthroscopy.

**MILD SEDATION** relieves anxiety without causing drowsiness. Typical drugs: oral Valium and chloral hydrate. Used for dental work, suturing lacerations and X-ray procedures.

**MODERATE SEDATION** leaves a patient sleepy though still responsive. Typical drugs: midazolam (Versed) and propofol. Common uses include upper endoscopy and cardiac catheterization.

**DEEP SEDATION** means that the patient can be aroused only by vigorous stimulation. It is rarely the goal of anesthesia, however, and some argue that it is more often the mistaken result of giving the patient too large a dose of sedatives. Typical drugs: higher doses of midazolam, fentanyl and propofol. Uses: bronchoscopy or endoscopic procedures.

**GENERAL ANESTHESIA** puts the patient in an unconscious, pain-free state, requiring assistance breathing. Typical drug: propofol. Common uses: hysterectomy and other major surgeries.

lax anesthesia procedures. In an extreme example, he says, "one plastic surgeon had his girlfriend giving him the anesthesia. It didn't take long for something to go bad."

In the wake of that study, Florida has stricter training and certification rules for people administering office-based anesthesia; 21 other states have some sort of guidelines. Some individual health-care systems have created their own tighter rules. And the anesthesiologists' society released new guidelines last fall to help hospitals and clinics establish credentialing processes for nonanesthesiologists who provide sedation.

Since each patient's response to anesthesia can be different, as San Francisco's Miller was reminded last summer, the guidelines are intended to ensure that whoever administers the drugs should be able to rescue a patient from one level of sedation deeper than the level intended (see chart). "Our job is flying in bad weather," says Zapol. "A fair number of hearts stop in operating rooms, or people stop breathing. The key thing in training is to make people confident at resuscitation."

As for the type of sedation a doctor will aim for in a given operation, there are no hard-and-fast rules. In general, operating on the extremities offers more options than operating on the body's core, but the dividing lines between levels of anesthesia can be blurry. Once you get away from major surgery, pain control and sedation are often mixed and matched according to patient preference. Says Dr. Ronald Pearl, chairman of the department of anesthesia at Stanford: "It's not uncommon when we do a spinal anesthetic, say for knee surgery, to ask the patients whether they want to be awake or asleep for it." Those who choose sleep do so not because they want to avoid the pain—they won't be feeling it in either case—but because they just don't want to know they're under the knife.

But choosing to stay awake doesn't mean a patient is free of the risks of anesthesia. "We can get in trouble with a local anesthetic," says Zapol. "We can get in trouble with a spinal anesthetic," which keeps pain signals from getting to the brain but doesn't make the patient sleep. "We can overdose you in all of those places." Someone, whether it's an anesthesiologist, another physician or a fully trained nurse, has to be ready to deal with that possibility. "Surgeons are experts at kidneys and ureters and coronary arteries and lungs. They're skillful people," Zapol says. But someone has to keep the rest of the body going while they operate. —Reported by Dan Cray/Los Angeles

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# Rachael Ray

has  
a lot on her  
plate

How far can  
one TV chef go  
on weapons-  
grade perkiness  
and 30-minute  
meals?

By JOEL STEIN

**I**F SHE CAN HOLD ON TO HER FAN BASE, RACHAEL Ray will be famous for the next 80 years. That's because a good portion of it is under 7 years old. If you look below Ray's waistline anytime she's in public, there's likely to be a child holding out a piece of paper for her to sign. "It's because I'm a bobble head, dude," she explains after giving a boy an autograph. "I have a cartoon-character voice, I've got a lot of energy, and they know I'm not going to punish them." Rachael Ray is our nation's kindergarten teacher.

In fact, it was a kid who got the cooking-show host her new daily daytime talk show (debuting Sept. 18), the only program besides *Dr. Phil* that Oprah Winfrey's Harpo Productions has launched. Terry Wood, president of creative affairs for syndication giant King World (which is co-producing the show), arrived home from work a few years ago to find her daughter staring at one of Ray's Food Network shows, all of which, Wood was surprised to learn, the 6-year-old was deeply familiar with. "I

said, 'What do you like about her?' And she pointed to her face, right around her eyes and her smile, and she said, 'She's always happy.'"

And it's not a mellow happy. Ray is a rabid cheerleader whose shtick is that moxie and a good attitude will get you as far as you want. Before she comes out from the gated elevator door of her talk-show set, the audience has been pumped up by clips of her set to the insanely upbeat song *Life Is a Highway*, the same tune Arnold Schwarzenegger has played before speeches. Ray—who often smiles so wide, you see not only her gums but also that weird part above the gums—says that when she's feeling stressed or sorry for herself, she just remembers the 10-fingers, 10-toes rule her uncle taught her: If you've got those, you have nothing to complain about. She makes Annie look like a pessimist.

As with Barney, the Wiggles and Elmo, all that cheerfulness attracts major loathing from some adults. Anti-Ray blogs are shockingly virulent, harping on her cutesy catchphrases, her self-congratulatory com-

ments on her food and the fact that her recipes often involve little more than removing things from their plastic wrappers and putting them on plates. On the new show, she makes a lasagna out of ravioli because that way you don't have to bother with pasta and cheese separately.

But it's her cheerfulness—plus the 30-minute meals she created back when her job was doing demos for a supermarket—that she has based an empire on. So far, it includes more than half a dozen best-selling books, the *Every Day with Rachael Ray* magazine, four Food Network shows, a line of cookware and an olive oil. “She reminds me of Julia Child,” says Wolfgang Puck, the celebrated Los Angeles chef whose back Ray is rubbing even though they just met an hour ago. “She has a completely different personality, but the message is the same. The message is, she's not elitist. She gives confidence to people to go into their own kitchens.” Ray is antisnob and utterly nonaspirational. In a time of war and a struggling economy, this domestic goddess is a down-home Martha Stewart—REAL SIMPLE without the complexity.

Other than sunniness, Ray's main attribute is accessibility. She positions herself at all times as the Everywoman with the hick upstate-New York twang. Like a sorority girl cooking for a charity event, she calls her dishes “yum-o” and says things like “Good thinkin', Lincoln.” On her first few shows, she plays up the fact that—oh,

shows have to pay audiences or bus them in from nursing homes, Ray had a waiting list of 19,000 for her 110 seats before taping started.

You can't attract her kind of following by just being accessible, though. Ray, like Regis Philbin, is gifted at being on television. It's almost as if she has too much energy to in-



M.J. WICKHAM

But not her fans. Ray—who has no teleprompter, earpiece, cue cards or even writers—has a finely honed sense of what is and is not Rachael Ray. When the Vegas affiliate wanted a promo in which she would say, “Join me for an entertaining and unpredictable hour of television,” she refused. Instead, she blurted out, “What happens in Vegas stays in Vegas, but if you want to know what happens on my show, you'll have to check it out at 10 a.m.” The audience went nuts. There are, apparently, Rachael Ray clichés. And Ray is amazing at never breaking character in public. “In order to do a television show every day,” says Winfrey, “the most important quality a host needs to have is the ability to be themselves day after day after day after day—on camera. And that's what she has.”

Like *Seinfeld* co-creator Larry David, who declared there would be no hugging and no learning on his show, Ray drew up criteria for every segment: there could be no crying or finger wagging; it would have useful information for viewers of every age and class, and it would make the audience laugh. “I hope people feel more alive around the edges after they watch us,” she

**ENOUGH CHOPS?** Ray, with Puck on her new show, is attempting the tricky move from cooking to talk TV

## When she goes food shopping, her fans don't praise her; they ask her which aisle items are in

ditsy Rachael—she has a limp at the moment because she fell down the stairs in her house. At a segment at Sterling Vineyards in Napa Valley, Calif., in which she and Puck chose wine for the Oscars' Governors Ball, she made sure to loudly announce during a tasting that “it looks like the setup for one of those chicks who play glasses with their fingers.” During the daily snack time on her talk show, she walks out and personally serves her audience food, and unlike many TV hosts, she makes it feel as though she's chatting instead of lecturing. She is the most accessible celebrity ever. When she goes food shopping, her fans don't praise her; they ask her which aisle items are in. While some new

teract with directly and has to be filtered by a screen. “She kind of explodes through the television in a way that few people do,” says Brooke Johnson, president of the Food Network, which started airing her in 2001.

To build on that accessibility, the talk show focuses on interviews with everyday people, not celebrities. Fans send in clips of themselves demonstrating how to shave tea lights into an eggplant or how to wash jeans to avoid flat-butt syndrome. Ray even tells jokes, the kind that start with “What do you call ...”—a type that might otherwise have left the air when *Hee Haw* was canceled. After a viewer competed against Ray to see who could carry more grocery items around her kitchen, Ray bear-hugged her and yelled, “We're buddies! We're buddies! We're hugging! We're sharing!” We're also starting to freak me out.

says. Either that or they'll feel exhausted.

Fueled by caffeine, carbs and ambition, Ray, 38, doesn't seem to be tiring. Like Stewart, Ray claims to sleep four hours a night. “If I go to bed before 1 or 2, I'll wake up at 4 and catch an old movie until sunrise,” she says. Admittedly, a little bit of the fun of watching her is hoping that you're there the moment she cracks—when she finally knives the stage manager with a Wüsthof or walls into her peppers and eggs. She's like the popular girl in high school who is impressively nice to everyone but everyone secretly kind of hates. She's too perfect, too in control, and just has to be at least a little bit phony. But she's still the one you vote to be homecoming queen. Not just because she worked for it but also because, fake or not, she does make you feel a little more alive around the edges. ■

Want to ask Rachael Ray something? Pose your questions at [time.com/rachael](http://time.com/rachael)



**SHAPE SHIFTER:**  
To give his new  
museum a  
silvery shimmer,  
the architect  
had it covered  
with titanium

## ARCHITECTURE

# As Sharp As It Gets

With his explosive addition to the Denver Art Museum, Daniel Libeskind makes his point

By **RICHARD LACAYO** DENVER

IT'S HARD TO BELIEVE THAT THE MAJESTIC new addition to the Denver Art Museum is Daniel Libeskind's first completed building in the U.S. In 2003 Libeskind won the competition to design the master plan for the World Trade Center site. For the next year or two, he was so pervasive a media presence—the black glasses, the Polish accent, the inexhaustible cheer—that you half expected a spiky Libeskind tower to erupt soon on every street corner. Then the Trade Center project got away from him. The New York City developer who held the lease on the Twin Towers brought in his own architect to “collaborate” on the centerpiece Freedom Tower. Libeskind, who was a canny enough player to have ushered a Jewish Museum into the heart of Berlin, was gradually marginalized. By the time construction began in April, the much revised

skyscraper bore so little resemblance to his original idea, he had taken his name off it.

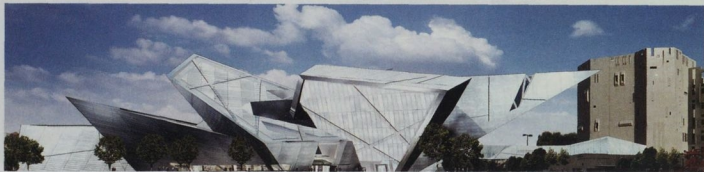
What he knew then, what we all know now, is that 1,600 miles away in Colorado he had a considerable ace up his sleeve. Six years ago, he had won a competition to design the addition to Denver's principal art museum, which its director, Lewis Sharp, was pushing to expand into a more significant institution. At the time, Libeskind, now 60, had completed just one major commission, but that building was the Jewish Museum, an architectural thunderbolt that would be endlessly talked about, contested and studied for its zigzag configurations. It took a leap of faith for Sharp and his trustees to place what would become a \$90.5 million project in the hands of an architect in love with tilted walls and corkscrewing interiors. But it was a gamble that has paid off spectacularly. Libeskind's museum addition, which opens Oct. 7, is the most captivating building to appear in

the U.S. in a while, the first to compare in complexity, daring and brave-new-world beauty to the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles that Frank Gehry set loose three years ago. If anyone doubts that Libeskind's ideas are a route to a powerful new model of space and form—and there are people who still think of his work as eccentric grandstanding—this is a building to change minds.

At 146,000 sq. ft., his addition is not much smaller than the museum's original building, a seven-story curiosity completed by Gio Ponti in 1971. Ponti was a significant figure in postwar Italian furniture and product design, but as an architect—he produced just a handful of buildings—he was the kind of man who could imagine that a castle keep, complete with a few stray crenellations and slit windows that any medieval archer would appreciate, was just the thing for an art museum. You can't really add to an armor-plated canister like the one he provided in Denver. So Libeskind's addition is a freestanding structure. It connects to the Ponti with a glass bridge, a gray-toned exterior and a willingness to think differently but with happier results.

A museum is a great showcase for an architect but also a challenge. To protect the art, most museums keep windows to a minimum, which eliminates one of the main tools for making surfaces come alive. So for the exterior of the Denver museum,





**BROKEBACK:** Libeskind cites the Rockies as an inspiration for his design, above in a rendering. The building at right is the original museum

Libeskind chose more than 9,000 panels of titanium, the same material that covers Gehry's celebrated Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain. It's a metal with a soft, refulgent glow and a variety of personalities. Gehry's titanium has a slightly golden cast. Libeskind's shifts from gray to silver and even to a peachy ocher, depending on the time of day and quality of the light. The shimmering surfaces and his endlessly fascinating massing of forms ensure that his Denver museum is interesting even on its windowless sides. Like George Clooney, it has no bad angles.

Although there's only one gallery in the museum with its own window, Libeskind has provided a spectacularly angled 120-ft.-high atrium that fills with light, which it communicates to any of the many galleries that have sight lines leading to it. And what light. He has positioned the atrium's windows so that it cascades in sheets or cuts oblique shafts through the air that mimic the diagonals of the walls and stairways, as though the sun itself had been recruited into his angular scheme. Architects are not known as humble souls, especially in this era of global stars. Yet what can you do but smile when one of them demonstrates that even the elements can be bent, literally, to his will?

A design as powerful as this can be a problem as a setting for art. The big question hanging over Libeskind's irregular galleries is whether they will overwhelm the art—the eternal accusation against the mighty rotunda of Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim Museum in Manhattan. As it turns out, for a good deal of modern and contemporary art, Libeskind's careening lines provide a perfect force field, a reminder of the dynamic rethinking of space that was behind so much of modern art to begin with. Naturally, Cubist work looks right at home here. Likewise the angular channels of Frank Stella's shaped canvases. Even Donald Judd's no-nonsense boxes look better with something to play against.

Anything gentler or more sinuous may have a harder time. A multipart installation by Betty Woodman, the ceramic artist whose work is full of liquid lines, looks like somebody dropped a Matisse into *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*. And Libeskind's plunging vectors will never be the ideal resting place for Vermeer or Monet—which might explain why the Denver museum will continue to house most of its older art in the more conventional galleries of the Ponti building. Daniel Kohl, the museum's installation designer, has taken on the job of mediating between Libeskind's building and the art, mostly by way of partitions that

softly mimic Libeskind's angles in ways that bring the pictures to a soft landing.

One complaint that's brought against Libeskind is that, like Gehry's, his unruly creations refuse to blend into their surroundings. But Denver has given Libeskind an unusual opportunity to prove that at the very least, his buildings can coexist happily with others like them. Directly across from his museum, he has designed a six-story condo building. Most of the walls are perpendicular to the floor, but the apartments feature just enough of his prismatic layouts and angled passageways to allow buyers to imagine that the muses themselves will turn up at the closing to applaud. The developer, George Thorn, is happy to tell you that in a city where Rocky Mountain views are usually the ones to go for, the units on the side facing the museum sold first.

Libeskind likes to point to those mountains as one of his inspirations. And it's true that the peaks rising just to the west of Denver call to mind the museum's wind-sheared escarpments. But to arrive at the deeper sources of his work, you need to go beyond landscape into history. A place to start is with the unmistakable traces of the Russian Constructivists. Flourishing just before and after the Russian Revolution and eventually crushed by it, they produced drawings and sculptural projects that would dismember Renaissance space. In Libeskind's knife-edged obliques, the interrupted discoveries of Vladimir Tatlin and El Lissitzky are brought back to life.

But it would be a mistake to comb through Libeskind's work looking for this or that historical ancestor. He's not conducting a seminar on the past. He's looking for ways to restore to architecture the intricacies that Modernism wrung out. "You could just as well say the inspiration also comes from the Baroque era," he says, "that desire to complicate space." What he proves with this tour de force in Denver is that sometimes complications are just the thing we've been looking for. ■

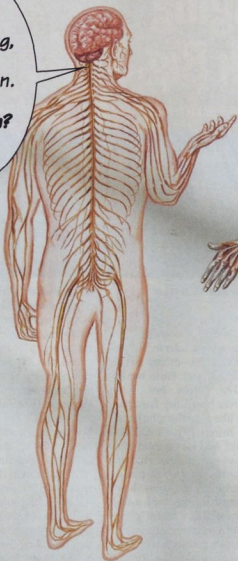


## NOT TWIN TOWERS AT ALL

As part of his master plan for the World Trade Center site, Libeskind designed the Freedom Tower, above left. But many modifications later, the design being built, above right, no longer bears much sign of his thinking—or his name

## NERVOUS SYSTEM

Hey, Doug,  
I have burning,  
stabbing,  
shooting pain.  
Is that  
**Muscle Pain?**



## MUSCULOSKELETAL SYSTEM

No, Phil,  
that sounds  
more like  
**Nerve Pain.**  
I'd check with  
your doctor  
if I were you.



Doug is right. If you have burning, stabbing, numbness, and tingling sensations, it could be nerve pain. Nerve pain is different from the aching, tenderness, and stiffness of muscle or joint pain — also known as musculoskeletal pain. If you experience the symptoms of nerve pain, talk to your doctor to see if there is anything that can help. Or visit [nervepaininfo.com](http://nervepaininfo.com) for more information.

**nervepaininfo.com**  
**1-877-777-PAIN (7246)**



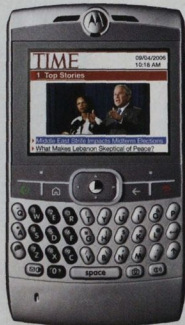


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## MUSIC

# Bringing Back Big

One man—and his 18-piece band—tries to put new zing in swing



**GOODWIN:** He infuses his orchestral sound with rock and R&B

By CHRISTOPHER PORTERFIELD



**A MOMENT OF TRUTH:** Gordon Goodwin is a seventh-grader in Wichita, Kans. He listens to his first Count Basie record, *The Queen Bee*. Even though he has never heard Big Band jazz before, it hits him like something he has always known. He thinks, "That's it. That's going to be my life." And for the next three decades or so, it is—sort of. After studying music in college, he becomes a busy pianist, saxophonist and arranger at Disney theme parks and Hollywood studios, with a five-year interlude as musical director for Johnny Mathis. He wins three Emmys for scoring TV cartoons and starts getting assignments for mainstream movies like *Con Air* and *Armageddon*.

Then comes a second moment of truth. The music he is turning out so successfully often strays too far from *The Queen Bee*. "I thought I'd better produce something that I could hold in my hand and say, 'Look! This is what I'm about.'"

The result is the Big Phat Band, the powerhouse 18-piece ensemble that Goodwin formed in 2000. Made up of topflight studio musicians, it plays Goodwin's complex, bristling arrangements with hair-raising virtuosity. "There are no passengers in this band," says lead trumpeter Wayne Bergeron. "Everybody can drive."

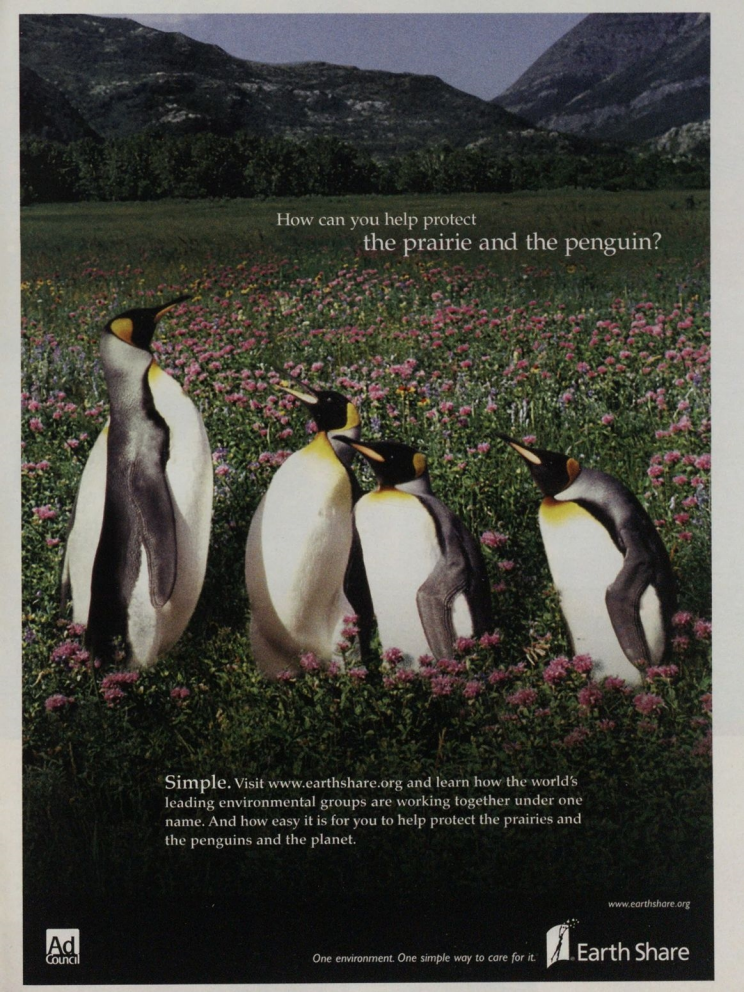
Although its jumping-off point is the legendary Big Bands of a half-century ago—Basie, Woody Herman, Stan Kenton—the Phat Band mixes in rock, R&B and Latin to

achieve what Goodwin, 51, calls "a contemporary energy and focus and edge." Amazingly, it works for high school and college kids who, if they have ever heard of the swing era, probably think it occurred between the Paleozoic and the Mesozoic. Half of the Phat Band's live appearances are at schools and colleges. The group's range and appeal to all ages are on full display on its latest CD, *The Phat Pack* (Immergent). The rapidly twisting union and ensemble lines of *Cut 'N Run* are like a breakneck drive on a winding road—dangerous and exhilarating. On the title track, misterioso woodwind passages alternate with a soulful, pounding minor blues. The streak of humor in Goodwin's writing comes to the fore in wry nods to his TV and film composing, including the finger-snapping *Attack of the Killer Tomatoes*, complete with a scream and a splat.

Goodwin continues to pursue studio projects. He won a Grammy for an arrangement in last year's *The Incredibles*, and this year he has orchestrated and conducted the scores for *Snakes on a Plane* and *The Guardian*. But the Phat Band has become a cause for him, if not quite a career. After all, with his exuberant, missionary zeal, he is advancing a vital tradition. At a Phat Band concert a year ago at the Santa Monica Pier in Southern California, one appreciative listener was the venerated arranger-composer Johnny Mandel, 80, who wrote for the likes of Basie, Herman and Artie Shaw. "You," Mandel told Goodwin after the show, "are where Big Band writing is today."

Another moment of truth.





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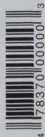
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**MAJESTIC:**  
Rowell's view  
of dusk falling  
on a peak at  
Yosemite



**GALEN  
ROWELL  
GALEN  
ROWELL**

BY THE TIME  
he died in a  
small-plane

crash four years ago, Rowell was photography's great mountain man, a skilled climber who had mastered the camera and took pictures that only a skilled climber who had mastered the camera could take. He also worked, magnificently, in deserts, along seashores, anywhere where the world offers itself in its most splendid registers. In the wrong hands, the high rhetoric of grand nature photography can get tiresome, but even his grandest pictures have their lyrical grace notes. He was a man who gave power and glory a good name.

PHOTOGRAPHY: THERON SUTHER

# 5 PHOTO BOOKS OF PLACES WORTH A LONG LOOK

Locales that are not always where you want to be but are always fascinating



**AFTERMATH**  
**JOEL  
MEYEROWITZ**  
IN THE DAYS  
just after

Sept. 11, when photographers were barred from the site of the World Trade Center, Meyerowitz managed to get authorization to document the cleanup. Long famous for his work in the abiding light of Cape Cod, he would find himself for the next nine months in the floodlit, dusty pit, where his constant subject would be tangled wreckage and weary work crews as they struggled to scour the site and subdue the horror it represented. His book commemorates a powerful undertaking, when a grievous wound was cleaned with cranes, steam shovels and human hands.



**▼ AFTER  
THE FLOOD**  
**ROBERT  
POLIDORI**  
TO PENE-

trate the tragedy of Katrina, it's necessary first to grasp its sheer, murderous extent. Mile after mile of houses splintered and submerged, worlds turned upside down. To say that Polidori is a great architectural photographer, though true,

doesn't quite get at what he does in this book. His pictures, full of shock and awe, tell us something we need to know about the suffering of people who never appear in them.



**WILLIAM  
CHRISTENBERRY  
WILLIAM  
CHRISTENBERRY**

LIKE WALKER EVANS, CHRISTENBERRY grasps the great paradox of the camera—that the most economical images yield the richest complexities. Working mostly in rural Alabama, he plants himself squarely before decaying storefronts and abandoned houses, the steadfast residue of a world subsiding into the past. While this is material that offers endless temptations into sentimentality, there's not a whiff of magnolia in what he does. His pictures are dry-eyed and straightforward, and all the more moving for it.



**▲ SWEET  
EARTH**  
**JOEL  
STERNFELD**  
WITH HIS

magical 1987 book *American Prospects*, Sternfeld announced himself as a canny reader of the national psyche, that much examined jumble of recklessness, calculation, hope and anxiety. This book, shot around the U.S. at the sites of 60 past and present Utopian communities—a term Sternfeld defines broadly—is mostly about hope: the things it builds, like an encampment of fiberglass igloos, above, for the homeless in Los Angeles, and the things it abandons, like the rusting geodesic domes of a former commune in Colorado. If there's such a thing as deadpan empathy, he has it down. —By Richard Lacayo

JOEL STERNFELD



PHOTOGRAPHY: THERON SUTHER





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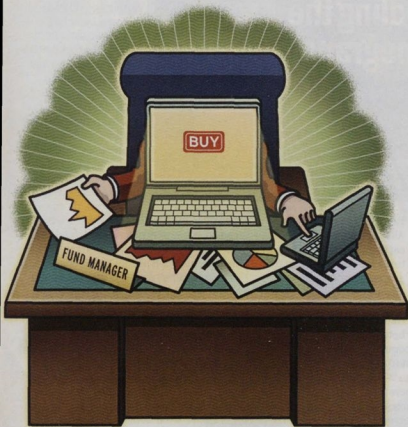
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## INVESTING BY THE NUMBERS

By BARBARA KIVIAT

YOU KNOW HOW TO PICK A GOOD STOCK, RIGHT? READ up on a company's products, listen to what the CEO has to say, figure out where the industry is headed. Well, that's rubbish and pure distraction, according to quants, a breed of computer-loving money managers, many of them ex-mathematicians and physicists, who are gaining a following among ordinary investors.

Quants (short for *quantitative analysts*) combine

hundreds of data points—cash flow, earnings growth, inventory turnover, trades by company executives—for thousands of stocks into elaborate computer programs that then say to buy certain stocks and sell others. Which the quants

### Slow and steady wins the race for quant funds

do, unflinchingly. "The emotional element is one that we want to remove from our decision-

making process," says Zili Zhang, who runs quant research at mutual-fund firm American Century.

Quants have been on Wall Street since the 1970s and have been popular with institutional investors like pension funds since the tech bubble burst in 2000. In the past few years, the run-of-the-mill investing public has started to catch on while fund companies like Vanguard, Janus and Charles Schwab have beefed up quant offerings.

It can be hard to spot quant funds by name alone. You may have to call the fund company or dig through prospectuses. Morningstar, a firm that rates investments, recommends Vanguard U.S. Value, Bridgeway

Large-Cap Growth and Janus Adviser Intech Risk-Managed Growth.

The increased interest owes in part (maybe mostly) to the fact that quants have done quite well of late. Casey, Quirk & Associates, an investment-management consultancy, took a look at institutional pools of money buying the

Quant investing beat the S&P and other indexes by an average of

**1.8%**

over the past year, while other strategies beat their benchmarks by just

**0.3%.**

But in 2000, quants, which prize consistency, returned an average of

**1.0%**

more than the indexes; riskier non-quants bested it by

**9.1%**

Source: Casey, Quirk & Associates. Data include separate accounts and commingled funds, which are run for institutional investors and which buy the stocks of large U.S. companies

stocks of large U.S. companies and found that those run by quants have consistently beat those run by nonquants since the beginning of 2003—by up to 2 percentage points a year.

But raw performance isn't what quant shops are about—at all. Quants are coolly confident that man-

agers who hit it big one year are likely to stumble the next, so their goal is simply to beat a benchmark index (say, the S&P 500 or the Russell 1000) by a few percentage points a year. "We're about hitting lots of singles," says Ronald Kahn, who runs advanced equity strategies at Barclays Global Investors. The Casey, Quirk survey found that quants take about half as much risk as nonquants. Over time, that habit of not losing as much money in down years adds up.

Then why the recent spike in performance? One thing quant funds have had going for them lately is a market that favors value. Hyped-up fast-growing companies haven't done as well as more established, steady firms—and the latter are the sort of stock that quant investors often end up with. That's because their process, which usually includes hypothesis-testing an idea before it's added to the computer model, relies on historical data, and growth companies tend to work because of what has yet to happen. The fabulous returns of the past few years are "a rare occurrence," says Daniel Celeghin, an associate director at Casey, Quirk. "I wouldn't bet on it happening again anytime soon."

And that's just fine by quants. "What we're really trying to do is deliver a consistent value added," says Joel Dickson, who runs quant investing at Vanguard. Translation: Slow and steady—and a little nerdy—wins the race. ■



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## Peddling the Pomegranate

JONAS CALANCAW—ALAMY



ANDREW WEIL, M.D.

THE POMEGRANATE IS HOT. Although it's a challenge to eat the raw fruit without getting a mouthful of seeds and astringent pith, pomegranates are everywhere now in the form of juice, concentrates and extracts, all heavily

promoted for better health. Much of the popularity is the work of a California-based company, Pom Wonderful. It pays researchers to study the benefits of pomegranate juice, gives doctors information on positive studies and, of course, sells pomegranate products. The juice is a beautiful wine-red color and tastes delicious. But is it especially healthful?

Red and purple fruits owe their colors to anthocyanins, a subclass of polyphenols, which are ubiquitous in nature. Anthocyanins are important antioxidants. They protect plant tissue from oxidative damage from solar radiation and other environmental stresses. When we consume them, they protect our tissue from oxidative damage caused by free radicals. Free radicals are toxic molecules produced in the course of normal metabolism and are present in environmental toxins like tobacco smoke. Research in test tubes and on animals shows that anthocyanins have anti-inflammatory and cancer-

protective properties and can lower risks of getting age-related diseases, including cardiovascular and neurological conditions.

Pomegranates and berries also contain ellagic acid, a polyphenol and potent antioxidant with heart-protective and anticancer effects. In berries the compound occurs mostly in seeds. Juice provides it in a more mouth-friendly way.

All experts on nutrition and health agree that it's wise to consume a variety of fruits and vegetables and that it's particularly important to include such polyphenol-rich foods as red wine, green tea, dark chocolate and extra-virgin olive oil, in addition to berries and pomegranates. I like them all, but the question is whether any one source offers advantages over all others.

### POWER FRUITS:

According to one analysis, these three fruits pack the best antioxidant punch. The black raspberry is tops



BLACK RASPBERRY



POMEGRANATE



WILD BLUEBERRY

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I like pomegranates. I'm sure they are good for us, but I don't consider them the ultimate health food or antioxidant source. Nature showers us with colorful fruits and vegetables, all with distinctive beneficial compounds. It is up to us to eat them in abundance and variety.

Have a question for Dr. Weil about antioxidants? Go to [time.com/askdrweil](http://time.com/askdrweil)



# "Surfing changes how you look at everything. Even oatmeal."

What the heck does  
surfing have to do  
with food? Everything.  
What Jeff's learned from  
surfing is to flow with  
nature instead of fighting  
it. So he makes great  
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feel just awesome. Meet  
Jeff at [kashi.com/jeff](http://kashi.com/jeff).

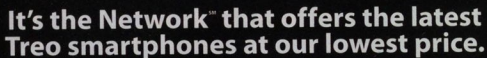
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## WARREN'S MERGER

Just because a guy is frugal, bespectacled and leery of tech stocks doesn't mean he isn't a playa. **WARREN BUFFETT**, 76, the world's second-richest man, just married **ASTRID MENKS**, 60, at his daughter's Omaha, Neb., home. That's no big surprise: they have been together for decades.

The odd thing is Buffett was married to his first wife until her death in 2004, and she approved of his relationship with Menks (she introduced them). After the 15-min. civil ceremony, the wedding party dined at a seafood place. And, since you can't put a price-to-earnings on happiness, shares of Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway rose 0.3%.

## Q&A JIMMY KIMMEL

The host of *Jimmy Kimmel Live*, now in its fourth season, has a special Sept. 13 plus a new game show, *Set for Life*, on ABC.

**How is late-night TV changing in the age of YouTube and TiVo?** It's less special. There are seven late-night talk shows, so it's not what it was as far as clout. And people know if something great happens, they'll get to see it. So there's less urgency to watch.

**How do you keep up the Everyman appeal when you're rich?** I never felt like the Everyman. I felt like the smart-ass outsider. I still have guys over to watch football on Sunday. I do have a butler. P. Diddy had a butler who carried an umbrella over his head, and I thought, I'd love to have a butler. He waters my tomatoes. He's putting my home movies on DVD.

**Be careful with the home videos.** Oh, I don't have any of those. I'm smart and unattractive enough not to tape myself nude.

**Do you and your girlfriend, comic Sarah Silverman, have rules for including each other in your acts?** I do. She feels free to say what-

ever she wants. She's like, "People know it's not really about you." No, people don't know. I tell her I have a show millions of people watch every night, if you want to get into this war that no one can win.

**Would you ever be roasted at the Friars Club?** If it was just my friends and my enemies doing the roasting.

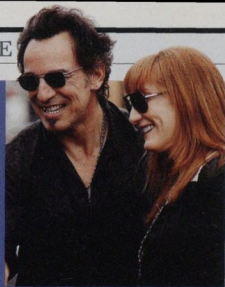
**Enemies?** Kids from my block, a teacher here or there. Fred Savage was mad at me for a while.

**It took me months to figure out Deal or No Deal. Will I get your new game show?** The game show is impossible to explain. But it's dramatic. Unfortunately I think it's gonna be a hit, and I'll wind up killing myself.

**Your schedule can't leave much time for your passion, Wiffleball.** I have time for nothing. When I was 17, I thought, If I ever get rich, I'll build a Wiffle dome. Of course, I now realize it'd cost \$5 million and I'd be a mockery.

## WHO NEEDS A PUBLICIST?

**BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN** announced on his website that he and wife **PATTI SCIALFA**, despite rumors, are not splitting up. Celebs are using the Net to share all sorts of news, including:



## BIRTH ANNOUNCEMENTS

Actor-director **JON FAVREAU** heralded the birth of his third child on his MySpace blog ([myspace.com/jonfavreau](http://myspace.com/jonfavreau)): "Her name is Brighton Rose Favreau and she's doing great." Now if he'd blog on friend Vince Vaughn's love life, his hits would soar.

## WEDDING ANNOUNCEMENTS

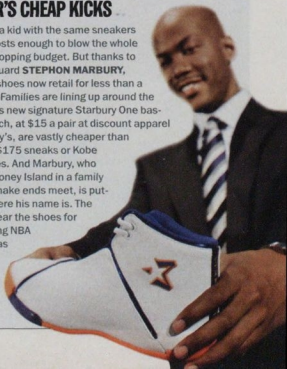
In her online diary ([Pamelaanderson.com](http://Pamelaanderson.com)), ex-*Baywatch* babe **PAMELA ANDERSON** revealed "Yes. I'm finally getting remarried" to ex-boyfriend, singer Kid Rock. She later posted several wedding photos, some of which, shockingly, bordered on tasteful.

## RANDOM SPIRITUAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

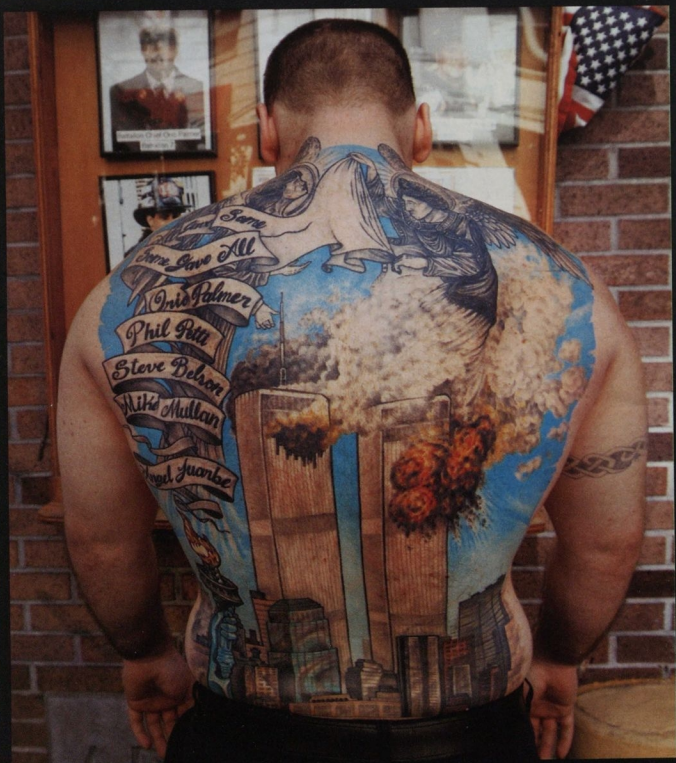
In the Stream of Consciousness part of **BRITNEY SPEARS'** site ([Britneyspears.com](http://Britneyspears.com)), the pop star said Kabbalah helped her "clear all the negative energy." Later she wrote, "My baby is my religion." Let's hope she's also converted to orthodox car seats.

## AN NBA STAR'S CHEAP KICKS

Usually, outfitting a kid with the same sneakers as a pro athlete costs enough to blow the whole back-to-school shopping budget. But thanks to New York Knicks guard **STEPHON MARBURY**, some NBA-grade shoes now retail for less than a decent backpack. Families are lining up around the block for Marbury's new signature Starbury One basketball shoes, which, at \$15 a pair at discount apparel store Steve & Barry's, are vastly cheaper than Michael Jordan's \$175 sneaks or Kobe Bryant's \$130 ones. And Marbury, who grew up in N.Y.'s Coney Island in a family that struggled to make ends meet, is putting his arches where his name is. The athlete plans to wear the shoes for the whole upcoming NBA season. He also has a clothing line. Now if he can only come up with an \$8,000 Escalade...







## ESSAY

### American Skin

Five men in Tiernach Cassidy's firehouse died on 9/11. After two grueling months working at ground zero, he began to have their names—and the burning towers—emblazoned on his back. The tattoo, which took nine months to complete, was therapeutic. "The pain in my back was good for the pain in my head," he says. Plus Cassidy, 34, married the tattoo parlor's receptionist. This image, by photographer **Jonathan Hyman**, is featured in the photo exhibit, "9/11: A Nation Remembers," at Philadelphia's National Constitution Center, opening Sept. 8.



## Is your cholesterol out of whack?

CRESTOR can get your bad cholesterol down. It can also get your good cholesterol up.

High blood pressure and diabetes are among factors that make it even more important to get your bad cholesterol low. But to get your cholesterol right, your doctor may also want your good cholesterol up. And diet and exercise alone may not be enough to lower the bad cholesterol and raise the good.

CRESTOR is a cholesterol medicine that does both.

A 10-mg dose of CRESTOR® (rosuvastatin calcium) along with diet, can lower bad cholesterol, LDL, by up to 52% (vs 7% with placebo). CRESTOR can also raise good cholesterol, HDL, by up to 14% (vs 3% with placebo). Your results may vary.

Down with the bad  Up with the good

Is CRESTOR right for you? That's a conversation you need to have with your doctor.

### Important safety information about CRESTOR:

CRESTOR is prescribed along with diet for lowering high cholesterol and has not been determined to prevent heart disease, heart attacks, or strokes. CRESTOR is not right for everyone, including women who are nursing, pregnant, or who may become pregnant, or anyone with liver problems. Your doctor will do blood tests before and during treatment with CRESTOR to monitor your liver function. Unexplained muscle pain and weakness could be a sign of a rare but serious side effect and should be reported to your doctor right away. The 40-mg dose of CRESTOR is only for patients who do not reach goal on 20 mg. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are taking any medications. Side effects occur infrequently and include muscle aches, constipation, weakness, abdominal pain, and nausea. They are usually mild and tend to go away.

Please read the important Product Information about CRESTOR on the adjacent page.

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